

AP1990-712-25

Scrapping of Population Registration Act calls for early deadline

Pretoria punch needed for sanctions knockout

DAILY NEWS 25 OCT. 1990

THE South African Government would tip the scales heavily in favour of those in the United States pushing for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa if it scrapped the Population Registration Act along with other apartheid legislation early next year.

American sources said this week that Pretoria should go the whole way toward meeting the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) which stipulate what has to be done in order for sanctions to be lifted.

In terms of the CAAA, passed by Congress over President Reagan's veto in 1986, sanctions will be lifted if Pretoria unbans all political movements, including the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress and others, releases all political prisoners and allows exiles to return home, repeals the Separate Amenities Act, Group Areas Act, Land Act and Popu-

The Population Registration Act is one of the few remaining obstacles blocking the lifting of American sanctions

lation Registration Act, lifts the state of emergency, and agrees to good-faith negotiations with the true representatives of the majority.

The CAAA provides for the modification or suspension of some of the sanctions against South Africa if four out of five of these conditions are met.

Until recently, the Bush administration has argued that South Africa had met two of the conditions: the unbanning of organisations and the agreement to good-faith negotiations. The emergency had been lifted except in Natal and political prisoners were being released, so that two more conditions were in the process of being met.

The fifth condition, the repeal of the specified apartheid laws, was not going to be met, the Administration conceded, because Pretoria had said the

against South Africa. **DAVID BRAUN** of The Daily News Foreign Service reports from Washington

Population Registration Act would not be repealed until a new constitution had been negotiated and implemented.

President Bush has personally insisted the conditions for the lifting of sanctions cannot be re-interpreted and that once Pretoria meets the narrowly defined requirements, sanctions must go.

Congressional leaders have been more inclined to stress the need to be certain negotiations are on track and that endemic violence in South Africa will not make the process of negotiations reversible. Many are disputing whether the condition that Pretoria has agreed to good-faith negotiations has in fact been met.

There is also a looming dispute over the definition of political prisoners and exiles, and Congress might not accept that this condition has been

met if the African National Congress and others say it has not.

It is with these uncertainties in mind that the Bush administration is now keen to see Pretoria repealing all the apartheid legislation so that this condition can be clearly seen to have been met.

American officials believe mechanisms can be found to overcome the problem repealing the Population Registration Act while the current constitution is still in place.

They believe that if President de Klerk were to be able to announce that the Government was repealing all outstanding apartheid legislation early in the 1991 session of Parliament, it would have a dramatic impact not only in the US but also on the negotiation process in South Africa.

With the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act, there seems to be little sense in keeping the cornerstone of apartheid, the Population Registration Act, they say.

Why pay the returning exiles anything at all?

SIR - I believe the National Co-ordinating Committee on repatriation of SA exiles along with the ANC, PAC need to think again on how and why the people and Government should have anything to do with bringing back 40 000 so-called exiles and footing the bill for them. To want to give each person R1 000 a month for three months and a R5 000 bonus is beyond me. Our own pensioners only receive a few hundred rands a month, most of whom worked hard for many years for this country.

Where do these organisations spend all the money that has so far been channelled to them, hundreds of millions in fact? If they want to pay their exiles it should be out of their pockets and not ours, and stop all the joy trips around the globe by their high ranking officials. Would they like to donate a few hundred millions into our old age pensioners' fund as a show of good faith?

A. HOLDEN, Durban

Readers are invited to write to: The Editor, The Daily News, PO Box 1491, Durban, 4000. Preference is given to letters bearing authors' names but noms de plume will be accepted if names and residential addresses are provided.

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DAILY NEWS
25 OCT. 1990

Gloomy forecasts as blacks begin exams

By Steve Matthewson
Education Reporter

BLACK matric results this year are expected to be the worst ever with gloomy predictions that barely 10% of the 249 000 candidates, starting their exams on Monday, will pass compared to the 40% who passed in 1989.

Observers believe the 'imminent disaster' is unavoidable and point out that the problem is going to be compounded next year when those who fail this year's exams are going to be back in their already overcrowded classrooms.

National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) information officer Mel Holland said about 30% of the candidates registered were 'second timers' who had failed last year.

She estimated that by this time next year, there could be an extra 100 000 candidates redoing their matrics, in addition to those writing for the first time.

This was because many pupils for the exams feel they are not ready to write this year and plan to repeat the entire course.

Intensive

In 1989, 40% of the Department of Education and Training (DET) matric pupils in the urban areas passed the exam and 38% passed in the independent homelands including KwaZulu.

Prospect for matrics have not improved in spite of a massive 'back to school' campaign supported by the ANC and a call for intensive learning by the NECC.

Miss Holland said the few concessions offered by the DET were not enough to radically change the situation. Student and teacher organisations agreed that a four-week postponement of the November exams was needed and they were not satisfied when the Government scheduled the first few to a later date.

The department pointed out it had made substantial allowances for students.

One concession is that students who obtain a minimum of a 20% aggregate in the upcoming exams qualify to rewrite them in March 1991. Marks from the November exams and March rewrites can also be consolidated thus giving them a 'good chance' of getting a certificate.

Both the NECC and DET refuse to comment on predictions of the actual pass rate saying that 'such statements would lower pupil morale'.

Miss Holland confirmed that exam results could be particularly bad in Natal and KwaZulu.

Resource

The intensification of violence there and on the Reef has led to the closure of schools. It is bad enough in rural Natal where there are no formal structures to start with but where schools have closed down they are having to learn sitting on the grass or in private homes.

'Another factor is the resource shortage. The DET underestimated the number of pupils who would be at school and when many returned in response to our campaign there were not enough books.

'Almost half the matric candidates haven't even seen the text books which have been prescribed according to the syllabus,' she explained.

● Meanwhile almost 10 000 white Natal pupils have begun learning for their matric exams which start on Tuesday, November 13.

Mandela threat to set S A 'on fire again'

Mercury Correspondent

SYDNEY—ANC leader Nelson Mandela has threatened a renewal of violence in South Africa if full political rights are not extended to blacks.

He issued the threat in a speech on the steps of Sydney's Opera House to a crowd of 20 000 Australians who had assembled to welcome him to Australia, which he is visiting as a guest of the Federal Government.

It coincided with a statement by President de Klerk that there would be a referendum within four years on plans for a single parliament open to all races.

'If the Government continues to make statements which indicate that they are not prepared to accept without qualification the principle of one person one vote, then South Africa will be on fire again,' Mr Mandela said.

After being presented with the key to the city by the Lord Mayor, Jeffrey Bingham, he thanked Australians for their support in the fight against apartheid.

Standing with his fist raised, he said he felt like he was back in Soweto.

Mr Mandela, who has been attacked by Aboriginal activists Gary Foley and Michael Mansell for not involving himself in their cause, today met Aborigines who expressed sympathy with his position.

One said the Aboriginal people understood that he had an 'enormous problem' in his own country which he had to deal with first.

Buthlezi 'sad' over row

Political Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday he was 'surprised and astounded' at the attitude of Mr Nelson Mandela when he walked out of an Australian radio station this week because Dr Buthelezi was unexpectedly included in an interview.

'There was no intention to have any debate with him. He was making drama out of nothing.'

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party said that he was not personally offended but was 'sad' that someone for whom he had had such a high regard could have behaved in such an unbecoming manner at this crucial time for South Africa.

The Sydney Morning Herald

Mandela and Aborigines

EDITORIAL 25-10-90

MR MANDELA'S visit has highlighted a sharp but by no means new division among Aborigines. Some have been disappointed that he has refrained from speaking out in favour of land rights and other Aboriginal causes. Other Aborigines, notably those who met Mr Mandela officially in Sydney yesterday, have expressed satisfaction that he has kept his counsel — except when pressed to do so, as he was on ABC Radio on Tuesday. Then, Mr Mandela observed that Aborigines, who have the vote, are better off than black South Africans, who don't.

From what little Mr Mandela has said about Aborigines his position seems to be comparable with that of, for example, the former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, who on Monday drew a pointed distinction between the legal position of Aborigines and South African blacks. Mr Fraser emphasised that Australian law discriminates in favour of Aborigines but that South African laws have discriminated against blacks there. Of course, what Mr Mandela and Mr Fraser say is true. But it is equally obvious that having the vote and having positively discriminatory laws provides no guarantee against actual discrimination at the personal level. Nor is it proof against economic and social disruption.

The harsh reality for Aborigines is that once they secured the legal rights they now enjoy they came under heavy pressure to stand on their own feet. They have had very mixed success. So complicated are the cultural factors and so drastic the choices to be made between obligations within traditional Aboriginal society and success in mainstream Australian society, that many Aborigines still have enormous problems. It is in this context that for many

Aborigines, the dispossessed minority in Australia, land rights have become the holy grail. Even if land rights continue to be granted as they already have in some parts of Australia, it remains to be seen whether this gloomy picture will change. The battle for land rights is a political battle. But, land rights can be as empty as the right to vote and other rights under the law. The most difficult battle Aborigines face is with themselves, to take responsibility for their lives.

As many Aborigines recognise, their position is quite different to that of blacks in South Africa, who are a majority and do not need such a vision as land rights to sustain their hopes. Getting the vote should be enough for the Africans. From political power, all else should flow. Precisely because of that, they have long been denied basic rights by a nervous and fearful white minority. They have only begun to change that position by skilful political action. That includes winning the support of other nations to apply pressure on the Government of South Africa. Mr Mandela is not just a long imprisoned martyr to the cause of black freedom. He is, first and foremost, a black South African politician, with his own people's political battles to fight.

As the South African drama continues to unfold, the differences between the tasks of Aboriginal leaders in Australia and Mr Mandela and other black South African leaders will become even clearer. Like all Australians, Aborigines should admire the courage, determination and vision of a leader such as Nelson Mandela. But they betray a lack of responsibility if they expect him to fight their very different political battles and solve their very distinct social problems.

25-10-90

"AUSTRALIAN"

P.1

Thousands turn out for Mandela



Mr Mandela at a church service yesterday

THOUSANDS of people turned out yesterday to welcome African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he made his first public appearance in Australia outside the Opera House in Sydney.

For some it was a chance to finally come face to face with their hero. For others it was just a chance to satisfy their curiosity about the man who has become a household name across the world.

An emotional Mr Mandela thanked the crowd — and the Australian people — for providing the inspiration to keep up his fight against apartheid and said that even through thick prison walls "the steadfastness of your solidarity filtered through".

He was joined at the union-organised rally by the chief representative of the ANC in Australia, Mr Eddie Funder, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Later Mr Mandela attended a meeting with the NSW Premier, Mr Greiner, and the

Leader of the Opposition, Mr Carr.

It was followed by an ecumenical service at St Mary's Cathedral at which he acknowledged the strength different religious denominations had given him during his years in prison.

He defended his decision not to comment on the plight of Australian Aborigines, but said the Aboriginal representatives he met yesterday morning expressed sentiments with which he identified.

"Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our own country," Mr Mandela said.

"(However) it is not our task to get involved in any issue which may be regarded as improper interference in the domestic affairs of any country."

Followers meet symbol of defiance — Page 2

Slave to own hierarchy; I'd serve Mandela — Page 8

Editorial — Page 10

Future won't be settled by ANC and Nats alone

THERE was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of a bilateral deal between the South African Government and the African National Congress, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations told the Ladies 100 Club in Bloemfontein on Tuesday night.

Kane-Berman said that a "winning hand" was not a bilateral deal, but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

This would have a beneficial effect in white politics. "If Buthelezi and other black people are there, many people on the right will have their fears reduced," said Kane-Berman.

The New South Africa was going to be "a lot more painful" than 8-9 months ago, but the plus-factors must be emphasised.

These included that the USSR was now in favour of negotiated solutions.

Kane-Berman said that, but for the fact that there had been a major change in domestic politics in the USSR, Nelson Mandela would "still be sitting on Robben Island".

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 474-0128

Mothopeng part of future of South Africa

THE passing on of Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng is the beginning of the end of the old, respectable, solid leadership that started the liberation struggle many years ago.

Mothopeng was of the old guard, a man totally committed to his cause. He was a man who would rather go to jail than compromise his commitment to the liberation of his people.

In the last few months he was very ill but he pushed himself to attend conferences and to make trips abroad.

He was also an old teacher, a community worker who busied himself with matters affecting black education and the plight of the squatters. More and more his leadership tended to reflect a desire to get to grips with grassroots politics rather than bask in the limelight.

All political organisations have shown their respect for the man and have said that his death will be a blow to the final resolution of the complex problems of this country.

Even the change in the style of our political leadership which had become formal and unapproachable did not affect his style.

Most of us could simply walk into his Orlando West home without even making an appointment. Mothopeng was prepared to give us his time, even when his health was plainly failing him.

There is no doubt that he has made his mark in the history of the sub-continent and that his leadership will form part of South Africa's future history.

Jeugkrug SA, Sayco agree on negotiation

Citizen Reporter

THE White youth organisation, Jeugkrug SA and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) are committed to peaceful negotiations and a negotiated settlement.

This emerged at a three-day conference held at the weekend after which the two organisations said they had found common ground in a genuine commitment by all parties to a possible interim government and a Constituent Assembly.

Differed

However, they said in a joint statement that they had differed on the aim, composition, implementation and timing of an interim government and Constituent Assembly.

Constitutional commonalities included multi-party democracy, one person one vote on a common voters roll and a Bill of Rights but they differed on a geographic federation versus a unitary state.

On the economic front, the conference agreed on a growth-orientated economy with a social conscience the need to address economic imbalances and inequalities and the upliftment of health, housing and education. They differed on the redistribution of wealth and on sanctions.

Evaluation

"The joint working committee of Sayco and Jeugkrug SA will continue to function and will give specific attention to the evaluation and implementation of joint actions.

Actions that have been proposed are joint conferences and discussion groups, exchanging information and reading material, addressing each other at conferences and seminars, joint campaigns and others."

Bus company to raise tariffs

CAPE TOWN. — The increased fuel prices announced on Friday left Cape Town-based City Trams no choice but to announce a fares increase. The company announced in a statement on Saturday.

Bus fares will increase from October 28 and new tariffs will be announced on Thursday.

The company said it could not absorb the fuel price increase and commuters could save themselves a great deal of money by switching from their cars to public transport. — Sapa.

Handwritten signature: F. S. S. S.

Tutu's political gospel

IVANCA

25/10/90

Archbishop Despond
Tutu's latest antics are amazing, to say the least. Out of the blue, and in the most arrogant manner, the diminutive archbishop invites black leaders to Bishops court and, in the same breath, threatens that those who refuse to attend the meeting (for whatever reason) will be branded enemies of peace, reconciliation and liberation.

This approach proves beyond doubt that the Archbishop has not even begun to appre-

ciate the complexity of the problems that keep black organisations apart. It also reveals that in his heart of hearts the Archbishop actually has little respect for the leaders he is summoning to Cape Town.

PARTIALITY

Let us examine the clergyman's actions a little closer. What is it that makes Archbishop Tutu believe that his support for the so-called Constituent Assembly advocated by

the ANC will not immediately call into doubt his impartiality as a facilitator?

Where does this put organisations such as Inkatha, that have expressed their opposition to such an Assembly? Inkatha and the PAC, to name but two organisations, were not even invited to the Harare meeting where the idea of a Constituent Assembly was hatched. Must they simply swallow the Harare gospel according to Tutu?

Secondly what makes the Archbishop believe that his one-day talk-show at Bishops court will be more helpful than the historic consultations that have just started in Natal, to the delight of all peace loving people, between very senior leaders of Inkatha and the ANC? These are the consultations that have led to local peace accords in parts of KwaZulu/Natal and that might result in Inkatha and ANC leaders visiting violence-torn areas together.

Who knows, they might even lead to a meeting between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela. Can Tutu really do better than that in a one day impromptu conference

accompanied by the glare of publicity which the Archbishop usually courts?

IRRELEVANT

Thirdly, if the archbishop believes that it is the ANC and the Government that must form an interim government, why waste the time of the other leaders, who are apparently irrelevant to the new democratic South Africa?

In any case, is it only the ANC that is claiming voter support? What about Inkatha and the PAC? As far as we are aware, these two claim popular support and, in terms of Tutu's formula, they are also very much in competition for "offi-

ces in Union Buildings".

Fourthly, what on earth has happened to the Archbishop's professed neutrality and exit from politics and his stern warning to his own clerics to do the same? Many would agree that we have enough problems without courting more by Archbishop Tutu zooming in with his invitations and threats of reprisals.

NO ARCHBISHOP

Finally, the question of agreeing on a common negotiating strategy may not be as simple as Archbishop Tutu thinks. Furthermore, if at all there is need for such a strategy, it is not an archbishop

but an experienced political and constitutional personality who could facilitate it.

What is even more important, such facilitation would need the joint approval of all leaders involved. It simply won't do for one individual to anoint and appoint himself to the job.

If the venerable Archbishop wishes to hold court in the arena of politics, he should shed his priestly robes and canvass openly for political support.

But, since there are clearly distinct advantages to operating from within the comfortable system of the church, that is not likely to come to pass.

16/11/90

Blacks make the big move

Group

Areas

N/MERCURY

starts to

25-10-1990

crumble

Mercury Reporter

THE Group Areas Act is crumbling fast in Natal and other parts of South Africa with blacks — armed with the necessary Government permits — legally buying properties in white residential areas in increasing numbers.

Estate agents in Durban yesterday confirmed that during the past six to nine months the trend was for black property buyers to take the 'permit route' rather than the undercover method of using a 'white front' or a closed corporation to acquire property in an area zoned for whites.

One agent said it appeared Government officials were entering into the spirit of the new South Africa philosophy and granting permits wherever possible for blacks to buy in white areas. 'They are turning their backs on the Act well in advance of its expected repeal in Parliament next year.'

The crumbling of the Group Areas Act has been spurred by the desegregation of public life which has become official, with the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act earlier this month.

Indian and black people are now living openly alongside white neighbours in areas such as Westville, Berea, Glenwood and Durban North.

Yesterday, the JH Isaacs Group, Natal, announced that it had officially entered the black housing market and would be selling openly to clients of all races in all areas.

Company chairman Trevor Warman said: 'Three weeks ago we did a deal with a black woman in Umlazi who sold her house for R200 000 and bought a flat in the centre of Durban for R90 000.'

'Obviously until the Group Areas Act is officially repealed we have to get permits, but so far we have not had any problems and Government officials have been co-operating.'

'We have assisted many people of many groups to settle in the centre of the city — we have usually approached body corporates and have managed to influence thinking and place black people in these flats.'

Mr Warman said it was important for black executives to live in areas where their business acumen could be focused on the business of the day, rather than on what was happening at home in the township.

The chairman of JH Wakefield, Mr Keith Wakefield, said his company had some weeks ago taken the decision to sell openly to all race groups in all areas.

'The permit route is now being used by black buyers and the co-operation from Government officials has been heart-warming.'

'It has also done away

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Housing

Housing

From
Page 1

with undercover methods, such as white fronts, which some individuals were exploiting to their own advantage,' said Mr Wakefield.

A spokesman for another large estate agency said: 'Nine months ago hardly anyone would have tried the permit route. Now it is being used regularly and often permits are granted within seven days.'

'There is a spirit of co-operation from the Government and a realisation that living next door to people of other race groups is a reality — and not such a bad thing after all.'

The spokesman said that in some instances letters are circulated by the Province to white neighbours of a property where a black has applied for a permit to buy. The letters solicit the opinions of the neighbours and these are taken into consideration when a decision is made by the authorities.

'The process is working very well as it has resulted in slow integration in many areas. When the Group Areas Act is scrapped people of all races will, to a large extent, be used to living alongside each other — a similar situation to that when the Immorality Act was repealed.'

'If the Group Areas Act had been done away with suddenly there could have been problems. Now people have accepted or are accepting the changes.'

The Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, could not be contacted for comment last night.

● In 1987 the police investigated 1 243 complaints in terms of the Group Areas Act in South Africa, but only three parties were charged and tried. This rose slightly in 1988 with police investigating 1 689 complaints, leading to 98 prosecutions.

According to the latest figures for the period July 1989 to February this year, police investigated 1 249 complaints, but no charges were laid.

In 1987, the Transvaal Provincial Administration approved 940 out of 961 applications from blacks to live in white areas, 15 out of 46 Indian applications, and one out of 18 coloured applications.

In 1988, 1 393 similar applications were received but figures on refusals are not yet available.

Boobs

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Page 1

Mystery over postponement of ANC's conference

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Senior ANC leaders were perplexed yesterday by an official ANC announcement that the organisation's all-important national conference had been postponed from December to next June.

Two senior national executive committee (NEC) members said they were baffled by the official announcement yesterday — issued by the ANC's department of information and publicity on the instruction of the NEC — that the conference had been postponed for six months.

According to the statement, the December gathering — which would have been the ANC's first national conference on South African soil since its unbanning — would now become a 'consultative conference'. Elections for a new executive and policy decisions would now only be taken at the June conference.

This dramatic decision, which could delay the start of formal negotiations on a new constitution, had been taken at an NEC meeting at the weekend, according to the statement.

Policy

However, a statement issued after that meeting made no mention of the decision to postpone the national conference. In that statement, issued on Monday, the NEC said preparations for the conference would be stepped up and that discussion papers would soon be sent to branches on policy issues.

Yesterday, the two NEC members said the decision to postpone the conference had not been taken at the weekend meeting. They were under the impression that plans for the conference were continuing as scheduled.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, when asked who had ordered the announcement on the postponement, said she had been instructed to do so by the NEC.

The two NEC members dismissed the reason given by the ANC for the postponement, namely that many exiles would not have returned by December to join in the decision-making and election of a new leadership.

Dismissed

'Obviously all the exiles would not have returned, but that is not the issue. If we have to wait for all the exiles to come home, we can just as well postpone the conference for 12 months. It will take a long time for everyone to come home, since jobs and houses still have to be found for them,' the one NEC member said.

Both NEC members first dismissed media reports on the postponement as nonsense, then were baffled when told the news had been obtained from NEC member James Stuart, the organiser of the December conference, and had later been confirmed by the DIP.

The Government also was taken by surprise, and expressed concern that the postponement might delay the start of real constitutional negotiations.

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, commented: 'We hope not, of course. We would like to move into real constitutional negotiations as soon as possible.'

Mrs Marcus said the process of indemnifying exiles was not yet resolved and the ANC did not think the Government should be given in effect a veto right on who should attend the conference — by deciding which exiles would be allowed back.

Under the Pretoria Minute all exiles would have been returned by April next year, and this was why the conference had been pushed forward to June, she added.

Details of new political system for SA released

25-10-1990
N/MERCURY

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—A President's Council report released yesterday proposes a completely revamped political system for a new South Africa — including the abolition of the President's Council itself.

A major feature of the multi-party report is a call for the introduction of a bicameral parliamentary system with the lower chamber elected on a country-wide proportional basis and the upper chamber on an ethnic or other 'group' basis.

The 126-page report also calls for the establishment of a national conflict management system and a special constitutional court to enforce the principles embodied in the new constitution and a bill of human rights.

Distinctive

The report dismisses the concept of a white state as 'stillborn', writes off the notion of black city states as 'highly unlikely' and pans the independent homelands as non-economic, coup-prone areas which enjoy 'little or no legitimacy'.

The report says the committee believes characteristics from different constitutional systems could be incorporated into a distinctive system that would meet the needs of a future South Africa.

According to the chairman of the council, Dr Willie van Niekerk, the report is intended to be non-prescriptive, and it is hoped that it will be of value as a basis for negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The report was drawn up by the council's committee for constitutional affairs following a request from President de Klerk in December last year that the council inquire into decision-making and conflict resolving mechanisms and techniques in various constitutional systems.

Composed

The report argues that in a bicameral parliamentary system a first chamber, comprising popularly elected representatives on a country-wide proportional (rather than simple majority) basis, would accurately reflect the country-wide support of each party.

It states that a second chamber would only be meaningful if it were not composed on the same basis as the first chamber.

'The second chamber could be structured to

represent geographic units such as regions (in a unitary state) or member states (in a federation), (b) ethnic groups, (c) other interest groups such as environmentalists, (d) hereditary leaders (tribal chiefs) or (e) senior members of the community elected on the basis of their expertise or experience in specific fields.'

Essential

The report emphasises that the composition of the two chambers in a bicameral system should make provision for two fundamentally different types of party — 'political parties' in the first chamber and 'community parties' in the second chamber.

It is envisaged that community parties in the second chamber would represent cultural, language, religious, regional, economic or other special interests, and would be formed on the basis of freedom of association.

The report says a constitutionally-entrenched bill of rights is essential for a future South Africa, and that the success of a constitutional system will be in direct proportion to the extent to which minority groups in particular are protected against domination.

A minority veto may be necessary so that minorities can prevent their interests being prejudiced.

Inkatha must join talks for S A to 'hold winning hand'

BLOEMFONTEIN— There was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of a bilateral deal between the S A Government and the African National Congress, the executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, told the Ladies 100 Club here this week.

A 'winning hand' was not a bilateral deal, but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

The 'new South Africa' was going to be 'a lot more painful' than eight to nine months ago, but the plus-factors must be emphasised, including the fact the USSR was now in favour of negotiated solutions.

Mr Kane-Berman said but for the fact there had been a major change in domestic politics in the USSR, the ANC's Nelson Mandela would 'still be sitting on Robben Island'.

Change

The collapse of the communist monopolies undermined their credibility locally, while Africa was also recognising the folly of one-party socialist systems.

Sanctions were being

eroded and President de Klerk had made 'astonomical, breath-taking' breakthroughs in the international scene.

A new plus-factor in domestic politics was the increased realisation in the Conservative Party that its previous policies were unworkable and that old-style politics no longer had a place in South Africa.

Mr Kane-Berman said the track record of change demonstrated by South Africa since 1973 in the social and economic fields had demonstrated that 'we can actually change society non-violently if we wish'.

Attacks

Earlier Mr Kane-Berman had accused the South African Press of 'not doing its job properly'.

The public was not getting a true reflection of the degree of destabilisation in the black townships.

His figures, based on police reports, showed a 400% increase in attacks on black policemen and councillors, from January to July.

He did not know whether the Government would get the ANC to give up its mass mobilisation.

Sanctions were not a major threat and the armed struggle was never a potent instrument. — (Sapa)

ANC 'sophists'

SIR — Having watched and listened to the ANC hierarchy during the past seven months one has reached certain conclusions:

- 1) They are all very skilled sophists. Basically this is an ancient Greek philosophy which puts the good argument above the truth.
- 2) Their level of general and practical knowledge seems shaky.

Take A) ECONOMICS: Their philosophies are 50 years out of date. The weakness of socialism is the total lack of any incentive to do better.

B) HISTORY: By trying to relegate their political opponents to a position in the wilderness e.g. their approach to the Inkatha movement and others, they are repeating the mistakes made by the MPLA in Angola and Frelimo in Mozambique.

C) GEOGRAPHY: The hackneyed phrase about whites owning 87% of the land is skewed if one realises that two-thirds of South Africa is arid or semi-arid in terms of rainfall. The irony is that the homelands fall almost entirely into the higher rainfall areas. Another irony is that in their mentor country (the USSR) the homelands are now demanding their independence.

D) RELIGION: While several clergymen would appear to share ANC tenets, the ANC as a whole would appear to have very few religious tenets to offer.

One can sympathise with many of their aspirations but 'liberation before education' is putting the cart before the horse.

OBSERVER

Non-racial model for local government

N/MERCURY
25-10-90

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA—A new non-racial system of local government based on maximum devolution of government functions and fiscal resources is expected to be accepted by a Government think-tank in Pretoria today.

The report, drawn up by a committee investigating new local government structures, also proposes the protection of minority rights and the elimination and prevention of group domination.

This new system will be presented by Government at the central negotiating table, but talks at a local level to finalise local options were expected to be initiated by provincial administrators within months.

Powers

Local initiatives had already been launched in various towns and cities or were in the pipeline.

The Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, which acts as a clearing house on local Government legislation, sits today to consider recommendations drawn up by the investigating committee, under the chairmanship of Planning and Provincial Affairs deputy director-general, Dr Chris Thornhill.

The committee's report proposes a system of autonomous, non-racial local authorities with maximum powers and functions.

It proposes an Act of Parliament which will specify basic policy and norms based on non-ra-

cial principles, to replace the existing local Government systems based on race.

The proposed Act would provide for four constitutional and three institutional local options which would be negotiated locally and ratified by local charters.

Communities may, however, negotiate any other model locally — as long as it took place within the recommended legal framework and adhered to the basic principles.

Democratic

The Act would provide for the elimination of discrimination and the provision of mechanisms for extensive control by voters. The report proposes an authoritative code of conduct for councillors and officials to contribute to the protection of local inhabitants and the maintenance of clean and effective administration.

The basic principles on which the new legislation would be negotiated include a recognition that the new local authorities would be fully fledged government institutions with legislative and executive powers.

The report recommends that the new system provide for democratic political participation, the elimination and prevention of group domination, the protection of minorities, a free and independent community life, the elimination of discrimination and the accommodation of freedom of association.

African agenda takes F W to Senegal

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — President de Klerk is expected to pay an official visit to the West African state of Senegal today.

Sources said yesterday Mr de Klerk and his party would stop over at Dakar and would be received by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf. He will leave for South Africa tomorrow.

Dakar was the venue of one of the first meet-

ings between white South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, and the ANC in 1987. The meeting, which was hosted by Idasa, incurred the wrath of the then President P W Botha.

Senegal is not expected to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa immediately, but Mr de Klerk may secure trade-links and landing rights for SAA, sources said.

Mr de Klerk visited Morocco on Monday and arrives in Dakar after a stopover in Luxembourg following his visit to the Netherlands where he met Prime Minister R F M Lubbers, Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek and the chairmen of the Dutch first and second chambers of Parliament.

THE NATAL MERCURY, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1990

Dutch impressed by FW's commitment to 'profound' change

De Klerk awaits

Daily News

25 Oct. 1990

X

easing of sanctions

MARTIN CHALLENGOR, Daily News Political Correspondent, on tour with President de Klerk

THE HAGUE: President de Klerk leaves here today eagerly awaiting steps by the Dutch Government to ease sanctions, having apparently convinced them that the movement towards a new South Africa is "profound".

The South African party will spend today in Luxembourg for a series of top-level meetings with political leaders and the royal family.

Dutch Government sources said yesterday that from their side President de Klerk's visit went off very well.

They have officially accepted the steps towards a reformed South Africa as profound, but not yet irreversible. While all levels of Dutch political leaders believe President de Klerk will honour his promises to end apartheid and negotiate a new constitution, the fact that the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act still stand is holding them back from acting decisively to end sanctions.

Mr Hans van den Broek, the Dutch

Foreign Minister, will submit a paper to Parliament next month on how President de Klerk's visit has re-shaped Holland's policy towards Pretoria.

He will report what Dutch Government sources described as the "conclusions of this visit".

Dutch Government sources said they were the first to impose sanctions in the European framework, so it was only fair to be the first to get rid of them.

Dutch political leaders welcomed the personal effort President de Klerk put in in the short time available to prepare for the tour. They are likening him to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, saying he is the right man in the right place at the right time.

President de Klerk assured the Dutch that the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would be repealed in the next session of Parliament.

Bureaucrats, Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament and the public were impressed with President de Klerk's frankness, knowledge and drive for change, the sources said.

Further scientific, education and cultural links will also be discussed in the November paper.

South Africa's eyes are also on a European Community committee comprising the 12 directors general of political affairs — the highest civil servants in the community — who will prepare a report on sanctions.

Their report will come before a heads-of-state meeting in Rome in December.

FW meets Queen Beatrix: Page 3

Chris Hani

DAILY NEWS

spells out

25 OCT. 1990

his hopes. . .

The Daily News Johannesburg political correspondent recently interviewed controversial ANC military chief Chris Hani. Here are his views on the new South Africa.

QUESTION: Do you think there is a contradiction between being a senior member of both the ANC and the SACP?

Hani: I want to begin by saying that on the agenda of the Government is a campaign, containing a number of important elements, to weaken the ANC.

The first element is to negotiate with the ANC without the support of the masses, and the second is to fragment the ANC by trying to divide the ANC from the SACP.

The Government wants to negotiate with a different ANC which is part of an alliance comprising the SACP and Cosatu.

I have been in the ANC for 27 years — I joined the SACP in 1961 — and I've never during all these years had any problems being both a member of the ANC and the SACP, because basically we have a common programme.

What about the future relationship between the ANC and the SACP? Surely at some point there will be a logical split between the two, even if they remain allies?

Correct. Those are the dynamics of the struggle. We could, though, reach a situation where we have the same candidates at elections.

It might be decided that I should contest a particular seat under the banner of the SACP. However, I am sure there will be a common programme between the ANC and SACP because of shared priorities after a democratic transformation.

Our first priority will be to strengthen our fledgling democracy.

Priority No 2 is to ensure we strengthen the culture of democracy in the country because we have emerged out of a very dark period of rule.

Thirdly, both the ANC and the SACP must work out the best possible economic system to bring about social transformation.

The ANC has initiated discussions on the future economy of our country and we are going to be participating in those discussions both as the ANC and the SACP.

It seems you are advocating that the SACP should in future, in whatever form, act as the conscience for the working class?

We are the conscience of the working class. We believe we should continuously struggle against exploitation, and for the improvement of working and living conditions of the working people.

We want the working people to have a voice in our Parliament so that we can prevent the domination by those who have money and who control the wealth of our country.

We feel this commitment of the SACP to the interests of the working class will counterbalance, even at an early stage, the possible domination and stifling of democracy in our country.

What do you think should be the future role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SA Defence Force?

My point of view, and that of the ANC, is that a democratic government elected by our people should proceed to form a new army. They should define the guidelines for this process.

Surely that army cannot be the SADF? The commanders of the SADF, including Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, are trying to push for a situation where a new government will be given the SADF as it is to be the new army in the country.

I think that is really a ludicrous position. The SADF has got its history — an army built by a minority government to control the majority of the people of this country.

It has been used to bolster apartheid and it has committed excesses in the process. It was an army that was used to destabilise our country as well as to destabilise the whole of southern Africa.

Therefore, we need an army that is going to uphold the democratic norms in this country.

Yes, MK is an army of the ANC and, therefore, it's in a way partisan in the same way as the SADF is partisan.

We accept the position that the new army must contain the best of MK and the SADF. We don't dismiss the SADF and any other armies that might be around.

But it must be clearly defined so that the new army won't be used by any political group to entrench a political party in power. The army must also be non-partisan and non-political, because when we say we believe in pluralism and a multiparty government, this means the army mustn't have a problem about serving whatever party is voted into power.

At what stage how do you foresee the formation of a new army?

Well, I see MK and the SADF forming a new army when a new government has been elected. However, I would have loved a situation where we in MK and the SADF were beginning to discuss these things, especially now that the ANC has suspended the armed struggle.

We should sit down and map out the parameters of this process, because I believe we stand to gain by talking to one another, even at this stage.

How do you envisage the process of forming a new SA army unfolding?

I believe that when a new government is elected, and this is my own scenario, it should immediately appoint a parliamentary commission which would discuss the guidelines for the formation of a new South African army.

The parliamentary commission should invite experts from all the armies in South Africa, including those in the bantustans, to sit down and discuss the formation of a new army: its projected strength and its programme of training so that we can standardise our training — because we are going to become one army.

This can only be done by a parliamentary commission and nobody else.

LOOKING AROUND

Michael Green



De Klerk DAILY NEWS deserves 25 OCT. 1990 the nation's appreciation

LIKE all political parties, the Conservative Party does a certain amount of trumpeting; after all, politicians as a species are not inclined to hide their lights under bushels, if I may mix metaphors.

At its recent congress held on the Natal South Coast the CP claimed, as it has often done, that it has widespread support among white voters. The corollary is that F.W. de Klerk has betrayed the trust placed in him by those voters in the general election of 1989.

Only another general election among whites would establish without question the truth or otherwise of these claims. But I think most reasonable observers would concede that the CP does have a point.

The Umlazi by-election of four months ago showed a dramatic swing in favour of the CP; the Nat candidate just scraped home in what had previously been a safe seat, and he did so only because he received nearly 2 000 votes from DP supporters.

I think it is fair to assume that F.W. de Klerk would not have received the support he did in 1989 if he had told the voters then that he intended unbanning the ANC and the Communist Party and negotiating a new shared power deal in which blacks were likely to be in the majority.

And it seems probable that if a general election were to be held among whites next week the CP would indeed either win or go very close to doing so. FW's triumphs abroad have been counterbalanced to a great extent by uncertainty, fear, violence and crime at home.

"You can't blame De Klerk or Mandela for the crime rate," a liberal-minded friend said indignantly the other day. I'm not so sure. Some people have apparently decided to do a little informal redistribution of their own, ahead of the official schedule. And can anybody deny that unemployment, created in part by the ANC-supported sanctions campaign, has been largely responsible for the crime wave?

In any case I have little doubt that crime and politics are very much linked in the eyes of ordinary, old-fashioned voters, and that they would punish the Government at an election.

The other side of the story is that the job of a leader is to lead, not to follow. F.W. de Klerk is a supreme example. At a time when vision and boldness have been needed as never before he has taken the initiative and carried the country along with him, not only reluctant whites, it should be noted, but many surprised and semi-reluctant blacks and browns too.

He has not achieved miracles. The talk of conciliation and harmony has been soured by the seemingly endless violence in the townships, some of it political, some of it ethnic and some of it plain criminal.

In spite of the plaudits and promises from the international community, sanctions and sports and cultural boycotts are still in place, energetically supported by black politicians at home who regard them as negotiating tools or weapons.

The biggest plus, surely, is that F.W. de Klerk has led the country away from policies which were unjust, impracticable, absurd and cruel. It is long years since the Cape Nationalist newspaper Die Burger described South Africa as the polecat of the world. Now at last the whiff of the polecat is being dissipated, and South Africans can live with their consciences and behave as respectable citizens of the world.

To me, anyway, that is ample compensation for the pain and discomfort of transition. Slowly but steadily Mr de Klerk is delivering the goods, and the alternative packet offered by the Conservative Party is really no alternative at all, a cul de sac that can only end in poverty, strife and guilt.

I'm not taking bets on it, but when the time eventually comes for a referendum among whites to judge the State President my guess is that a substantial majority will endorse what he has done, with thanks and appreciation.

DR ZACH DE BEER, on his tour of hundreds that have been abandoned, many of them badly damaged. The house is one of

Tour of 'war zones' stuns Zach de Beer

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Zach de Beer has visited two township "war zones" near Durban where efforts to bring about peace have yet to bear fruit.

He saw some grim sights: hundreds of homes have been left abandoned and many of them badly damaged by raiders in the two areas — in KwaMashu K section and Inanda B section. Political slogans, some in vile language, are scrawled on some of the shattered buildings.

A fact paper prepared by the Natal Coast Region of the Democratic Party on Dr de Beer's lightning visit to these trouble spots contained good news as well as bad. It said peace initiatives by ordinary ANC and Inkatha supporters offered real hope that the bloody conflict in Natal might soon be ended.

It spoke of growing peace in urban Durban township areas, a decline in unrest-related deaths since the end of July — but conflict has raged on in the two grim trouble spots.

Efforts to bring peace to KwaMashu K section have met with little success. Over the last week alone, four separate clashes have been recorded between members of the so-called amaSinyora vigilante gang and members of the community, resulting in two deaths, injury to several persons and damage to property.

The DP estimates "conservatively" that as many as 60 people living in KwaMashu may have been killed in the past two years as a result of the amaSinyora activity in K Section.

The underlying causes are complex: it's not an

TERRY McELLIGOTT

other case of Inkatha versus ANC and its affiliates. Here it is comrades versus renegade comrades.

The DP fact paper said the amaSinyora gang appeared to have originated out of a clash between comrades and "com-tsotsis" (those comrades engaged in criminal activity under the guise of participating in the freedom struggle).

"In an attempt to reduce the high level of crime in KwaMashu early in 1988, the comrades began taking steps to discipline the com-tsotsis and curtail their activities.

As the campaign against tsotsis gained momentum, so the com-tsotsis were separated and isolated from the Mass Democratic Movement. They gradually banded together, initially as purely a defence mechanism, but as the com-tsotsis and other renegade comrades grew in number and confidence, they began actively organising as a criminal gang with their own structure and programme of action.

"Targets for their criminal activities have almost always been supporters of organisations such as the ANC, UDF and Cosatu."

Hundreds of people have fled from their houses to escape attack. Houses have been destroyed and badly damaged as a result of the fighting. Some schools have ceased to function.

According to the fact paper, the perception of certain sections of the community in K and J sections is that the police have failed them in two important ways.

Firstly, the KwaZulu Police in particular have

failed to protect them and their property from attack.

"Indeed influential members of the community are convinced that elements of the ZP have sided with the amaSinyora.

"Secondly, both the ZP and SAP have failed to investigate effectively the large number of attacks perpetrated by the gang over the last two years, to curtail their activities and take action against their leaders.

"One of the effects of the above perception is that the community has taken matters into its own hands. Defence committees and people's courts have been established to replace the vacuum."

By chance, an SAP team was conducting an investigation at the time that the DP team and members of the media arrived in the area.

Regarding Inanda B section, the DP fact paper said a state of conflict had existed between the residents and the neighbouring squatter settlement of Emshayase for over two years.

In areas adjacent to Emshayase, hundreds of homes have been destroyed, damaged or abandoned, affecting thousands of people.

The DP said tentative moves towards a peace pact between the warring factions must be nurtured.

"The Security Forces have a crucial role to play in reducing the level of tension and helping to create a climate conducive to the peace process. Unfortunately, elements within both the SADF and SAP operating in Inanda have not always conducted themselves in a manner conducive to the attainment of peace."

DAILY NEWS 25-10-1990

16/1/11

XUNelson Mandela JUN 17 25/10/90 **ugulukudele wabaleka** **ezindlini zomsakazo**

ZWELAKHE MKHIZE
ETHEKWINI. - IPhini likaMongameli we-African National Congress (ANC), uDr Nelson Mandela, ushaqise izihlelele zabalaleli bomsakazo wase-Australia ngolwesiBili ngesikhathi ephuma ebaleka ezindlini zomsakazi emuva kokuba umsakazi ezama ukumxhumanisa bukhoma noMongameli

weNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, obesocingweni ngalesosikhathi.

Lesisehlakalo senzeke kungazelele muntu futhi uDr Mandela kumcasule kakhulu okwenziwe ngumsakazi, uMnuz. Paul Murphy, we-Australian Broadcasting Corporation ngokumxhumanisa

noDr Buthelezi engamtshelanga. "NguButhelezi lowo? Empeleni bekufanele ningitshele kuqala," etshela umsakazi uMnuz. Murphy.

"Yebo Mnuz. Mandela, bekufanele ngikutshele ukuthi kade ngikhuluma nenkosi uButhelezi," kuchaza uMnuz. Murphy ejobelela. "Kangiqondi noma uzimisele yini ukulalela kulokho afuna ukukusho." UDr Mandela ethukuthela uthe "Kangifuni. Empeleni bekufanele ungitshele kunesikhathi."

Emuva kwaleyompikiswano emfushane kuthiwa uDr Mandela uphumele egunjini lokusakaza lasePhalamande ngesikhathi abasizi bakhe bethethisana nabe-ABC. Kuzwakala ukuthi abamnyama base-Australia bathukuthela bagana unwabu ngesenzo sokuziphatha kukaDr Mandela sokwenqaba kwakhe ukubhekana noMongameli weNkatha ocingweni.

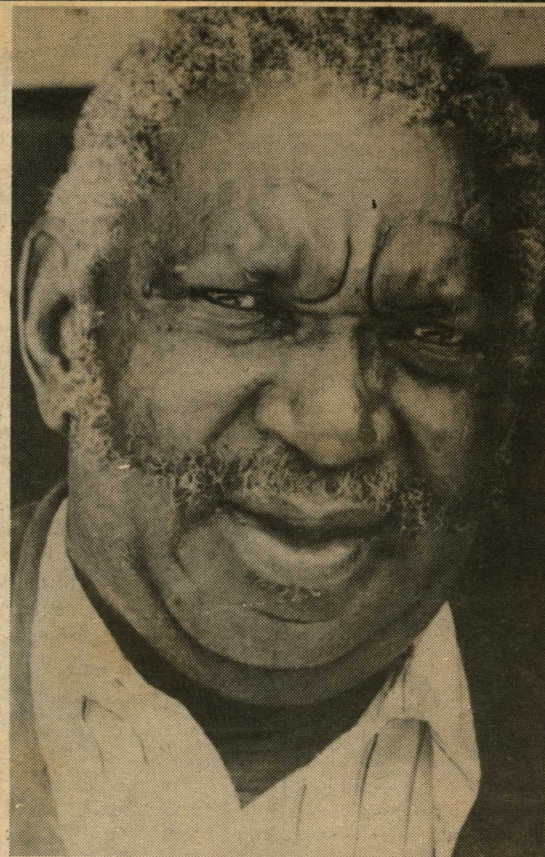
Kuthiwa bamangale kakhulu ngokwazi ukuthi lomholi utshela umhlaba wonke ukuthi ukholelwa enqubeni yentando yeningi kodwa ebe ehluleka

ukuziphatha ngaloluhlobo emsakazweni. Kwezeka lokhu-nje uDr Mandela usanda kutshela izwe lonke ukuthi we-nqatshelwa kanjani ngabaholi benhlangano yakhe abacishe bamquma uqhoqhoqho nxa ebhunga ngokuhlangana kwakhe noDr Buthelezi.

25/10/90 Sowetan

SOWETAN Thursday

Tributes flow in for PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng



MR ZEPH MOTHOPENG ... tributes pour in.

POLITICAL organisations buried their differences for a while yesterday to mourn the death of Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, who died of cancer at the Johannesburg General Hospital on Tuesday afternoon.

Tributes and messages of condolence from many political organisations yesterday inundated the offices of the PAC. Tributes were also received from countries such as Canada and Iran.

The Azanian Youth Organisation said it had learnt with sadness of the death of the PAC stalwart and said his death had come at a time when the struggle needed people and leaders of his calibre.

"We wish to pay our last tribute to 'Uncle Zeph' for his efforts to withstand several traumatic experiences until his very last day," Azayo president Mr Thami Mcerwa said.

Confused

The Black Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa said Mothopeng's death had come at a time when the "oppressed masses are confused, not knowing whether to fight or to capitulate, (and) not even knowing whom to fight when advancing the struggle.

"We view with suspicion the fact that leaders of the PAC

Mothopeng's death was a tremendous setback to the process of normalising the political situation in South Africa.

"While the PAC steered clear of being directly involved in negotiations at this stage, it had in Zeph Mothopeng a leader who was widely respected for his contribution to liberation and who would have played an important role in negotiations had the PAC decided to become involved," Mogoba said.

The Afro Hairdressing and Beauty Association of Southern Africa condemned the incarceration of leaders who were "only released to come home and die".

Mr Joe Clark, Canada's Secretary of State, said he was saddened to learn of Mothopeng's death.

Fighting

"Mr Mothopeng clearly was a man of great conviction who dedicated his life to fighting apartheid and who worked diligently for his vision of a new South Africa."

By SY MAKARINGE

Sowetan
25/10/90

in More, Miss Francis Legodi, Soweto mayor Mr Samuel Mkhazazi, Mrs Pinkie groove trumpet player Banza Khasoane, Miss Marygirl Legodi and Mr Mandla Mazibuko.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Cape burial for Unity Movement's Tabata

THE funeral of the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr Isaac Bangani Tabata, will be held on Saturday in Lesseyton, near Queenstown, an executive member of the organisation, Dr WM Tsotsi, said yesterday.

Tabata died in Harare, Zimbabwe, on October 10.

seyton.

"The acting president of the organisation, Mr M Nikani, will be the main speaker at the ceremony."

Founding

Tabata was one of the founding members

ment worked strenuously against the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie spokesmen over the nationalist movement and sought an independent revolutionary line. Therefore, we expect thousands to attend his funeral."

Mandela wants to meet The Don

NELSON Mandela says one of the things he wants to do on his visit to Australia is meet Sir Don Bradman.

Mr Mandela said he remembered seeing The Don play when he was a schoolboy in South Africa.

He said his mates at school all had the same ambition — "to be a Don Bradman".

"He became a real hero far beyond the borders of Australia," he said.

In other comments yesterday, the black nationalist leader urged Australia to maintain its economic and sporting boycott of South Africa, saying the apartheid regime had not done enough for sanctions to be lifted.

And he firmly rejected a suggestion by Opposition Leader John Hewson that another Eminent Persons Group review the need for sanctions.

Mr Mandela, the 72-year-old deputy president of the African National Congress, was welcomed to Australia yesterday by an emotional Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who described him as a "modern-day hero".

Mr Hawke, close to tears, told Mr Mandela

By CRAIG JOHNSTONE

that Australians saluted his struggle against apartheid and his suffering for the cause.

And the Prime Minister reaffirmed the Federal Government's commitment to sanctions against South Africa, quashing speculation that the sporting boycott could be lifted soon.

Mr Mandela, who was released from 27 years in a South African jail earlier this year, is in Australia as a guest of the Federal Government.

In a day in which the anti-apartheid leader was feted as a Head of State, Cabinet rejected his plea for Australia to provide funds directly to his Afri-



South African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela in Canberra yesterday

can National Congress organisation.

Instead foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans detailed \$5 million in Australian aid to groups disadvantaged by apartheid.

Senator Evans said it remained Government policy not to give money directly to nationalist organisations from other countries.

Mr Mandela accused South Africa's notorious security forces as being behind its country's black-against-black violence.

He refused to excuse the plight of Aborigines, but pledged to meet Aboriginal groups in Sydney today.

Mr Mandela said raising

sanctions now would merely play into the hands of South Africa's white nationalists, who were pressing the country's President FW de Klerk to withdraw his reforms.

"Sanctions were introduced for a specific purpose, and that is the dismantling of apartheid and the extension of the vote to every South African," he said.

"We are still very far from that goal and for that reason sanctions must remain in place."

He dismissed Mr Hewson's call for an Eminent Persons Group to review the Commonwealth's sanctions policy, saying the AFT and other liberation groups were the only people who could say

when boycotts should be eased.

His comments could give the Government more ammunition in its recent attempts to discredit Mr Hewson's approach to foreign policy.

Mr Hawke yesterday backed away from his hints at the weekend that the sporting boycott could be revoked, saying sanctions would be lifted "not a moment too soon and not a moment too late".

He listed the Government's attempts to isolate the apartheid regime, including bans on aviation services, agricultural trade, sporting contacts, new investment, and arms trade between the two countries.

Taxpayer gets tab for right royal bill

NELSON Mandela's five-day visit will cost Australian taxpayers about \$170,000.

Mr Mandela and his 11-member entourage are being treated on a par with Britain's royal family, with the Federal Government picking up the tab for accommodation, meals, security and transport.

The NSW and Victorian Governments will pay part of the transport bill, a spokesman for Prime Minister Bob Hawke said yesterday.

The Government also foots the bill for the black nationalist leader's flight to Japan when he leaves Australia on Friday.

The spokesman said the exact cost of Mr Mandela's visit was yet to be determined, but it was estimated at between \$150,000 and \$170,000.

"The only difference as compared to the royal family is, we pick up the cost of the party of 12 flying to Tokyo. The Indonesian Government paid for his trip from Indonesia to Australia."

The Mandela entourage while in Australia has use of a VIP Falcon jet.

The spokesman said Australia was treating Mr Mandela no differently from how he was feted in other countries.

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"AUSTRALIAN"

25.10.90

ANC leader 'slave to own hierarchy'

By KEVIN RICKETTS and FIONA KENNEDY

THE gagging of Mr Nelson Mandela's interviews in Australia was confirmation that he was now more a captive of his own ANC hierarchy than he ever was in jail. Kwa Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking from the Zulu homeland capital of Ulundi, north of Durban, to Macquarie radio's John Tingle, Chief Buthelezi said the furore over Mr Mandela's interview with ABC radio journalist Paul Murphy on Tuesday sprung from the ANC leadership's hatred of other black South African liberation movements that threatened the ascendancy of the ANC.

Mr Mandela and his entourage cancelled further scheduled "one-on-one" interviews with the Australian media after Murphy went from his live talk with Mr Mandela to a live cross to Ulundi with Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela refused to speak to the Chief Minister and later announced his cancellation of an interview with ABC's 2JJJ radio station.

Chief Buthelezi told Tingle yesterday: "Owing to members of the ANC leadership, up to now he (Mr Mandela) has not yet met with me."

"And he has said that when he suggested in March — one month after he was released from jail — that we should go together to address a joint peace rally in Pietermaritzburg, his colleagues in the ANC almost throttled him."

"I sympathise with him because, clearly, he is a captive of these leaders more than he was in jail."

Chief Buthelezi warned that if the world insisted on imposing an ANC one-party government in South Africa it would deny the country peaceful multi-party democracy and lead to further violence.

"It is something that happened in this part of Africa. In Mozambique (the late president) Samora Machel shot his way to power and now it is a government in exile there that is waging an armed struggle. The same can be said about Angola," he said.

"Some people have perceived the ANC as some sort of government-in-the-wings. That is contrary to multi-party democracy and that is why there is violence in places like Mozambique and Angola, precisely because a one-party State was imposed on the rest of the population."

The Chief said it was "absolute balderdash" that his Zulu-based party, Inkatha, was fomenting violence against the ANC — "I have always been denigrated and despised because I believe in non-violence".

"It is the ANC that is committed to armed struggle ... they are the people who created a culture of violence in this country."

"Everywhere where there is violence there is the ANC. Violence does a lot of harm to our cause. It is the sort of violence that should shame all of us who claim to be leaders because it means that we as black people find it difficult to get our act together."

The Chief Minister said he found it "inconsistent" that people say Mr De Klerk (the South African President) is sincere, that Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity and so on, and then in the same breath advocate sanctions.

"Because there is no way apartheid can continue in this country — it is doomed, it is finished."

The other interviews given by Mr Mandela were with ABC Television's 7.30 Report and the Melbourne newspaper The Age.

Mandela and the sanctions

IN HIS set piece speech at Canberra yesterday, Mr Mandela was admirably precise about the purpose of the economic and sporting sanctions against South Africa. Sanctions, he said, have played "a major role" in bringing reform. But they had to be continued while the "tenets of apartheid" such as the Population Registration Act, "which denies the equality of human beings", remained on the South African statute books. The Hawke Government will have no difficulty in supporting this position. It is, in fact, consistent with its own line of policy.

The point about the sanctions against South Africa — and their basic justification — is that they are intended to so inhibit the lifestyle of the ruling white minority that political concessions to the black majority will become acceptable. That process still has a good distance to run. The sanctions are putting the South African economy under stress. And sports-mad South African whites are being deprived of international Rugby and cricket. However, the "pillars of apartheid" (Senator Evans's phrase) still remain in place. While this is the case, there are no tactical gains to be achieved in easing sanctions. Mr Mandela endorsed this stance yesterday. For Mr Mandela, as well, there is the additional and important consideration that the fact of the sanctions provides the ANC with one of the few pressures the organisation can exert on President de Klerk while the negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa are being conducted.

The Australian Government's position on sanctions is consistent with Mr Mandela's. There have been, from time to time, what Senator Evans has called "verbal differences" between himself and Mr Hawke, though. These "differ-

ences" are differences of emphasis, however, and not of policy. The Prime Minister has tended to emphasise the possibility of the sanctions being lifted, while acknowledging the need for the processes of dismantling apartheid to be "irreversible". In March, for instance, Mr Hawke suggested that Australia was prepared to lift sanctions once a dialogue between the South African Government and the ANC "meaningfully commences". Last weekend, he said that sporting sanctions against South Africa would be lifted "as soon as it's reasonable".

Senator Evans has tended to emphasise the changes required from the South African Government before sanctions can be discarded. In March, he insisted that Canberra remained "four square" behind its commitment to maintain sanctions until Pretoria made "clear and irreversible changes" to apartheid. On Monday, Senator Evans insisted "that not enough has changed yet ... I do not think anybody is going to rush in and lift sanctions".

When the sanctions are finally lifted will depend on when Mr Mandela decides they have served their purpose. As Mr Malcolm Fraser acknowledged yesterday, if Mr Mandela says, as he did yesterday, that sanctions shouldn't be lifted until blacks have voting rights, the world will accept what he says. This places great power and a great responsibility on Mr Mandela. If the economic sanctions stay on too long, South Africa may be crippled economically by the time the black majority gains political control. But it is a decision for South Africa's black political leaders. Rapidly, the future of South Africa is falling into their hands, where it belongs.



THE AUSTRALIAN

October 25 1990

25-10-90

The myth of Nelson Mandela

SOUTH Africa's President De Klerk said yesterday he would be willing to serve in a government led by Mr Nelson Mandela. If this not-inconceivable organisation of the South African polity came to pass, Mr Mandela, as head of a multiracial government, would be able to prove he is a great leader.

Until then - or until he is in some position of control - Nelson Mandela, as great leader, exists in other peoples' minds. The nobility of the anti-apartheid cause - a struggle dedicated to the ideals of freedom, equality and non-racial democracy - requires a noble figurehead. Mr Mandela, who has suffered for his cause, has been co-opted into that role.

Mr Mandela has a dignified bearing and charismatic persona. These are theappings of leadership, not its substance. He has given no sign of possessing the actual quality. His courage may be respected. He should not be lionised.

The purpose of his Australian visit is to thank the people and the Government for their support of the ANC and the struggle against apartheid. But it is a poor guest who comes to express gratitude for support and then tries to dictate the form that support will take, as he did when he insisted full sanctions be maintained against South Africa. If he were any other visiting leader, his remarks would be regarded as an intrusion. Mr Hawke has at times appeared to be contemplating softening his line on some sanctions. If this is the approach he wants to pursue, he should. Australia's policy is Australia's business.

Others in South Africa have different views. Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, is a firm opponent of sanctions, as are other significant black leaders. They believe sanctions hurt blacks, not whites.

The mythology surrounding Mr Mandela is no less effective for its flimsy basis. Australia has given Nelson Mandela, private citizen, the full official reception and treatment (minus a 21-gun salute). The Foreign Minister, Jensen Evans, may believe Mr Mandela represents 28 million black South Africans. But Mr Mandela is only a senior figure of one of the political parties competing for power in a post-apartheid South Africa, the African National Congress.

No election has taken place to test his support. The recent township violence - in which almost 1000 have died - suggests he has little control over South Africa's biggest single ethnic group, the 7 million Zulus, most of whom support Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha. Nor does he have the support of the 3 million members of the conservative Zion Christian Church. At best, according to most assessments, the ANC can count on backing from the 3.4 million Xhosas.

His organisation has adopted a Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It has been closely allied with the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Its commitment has been to terrorism. Its renunciation of the armed struggle is recent and uncertain.

Benign though he appears in public, Mr Mandela shows little sign of having a real grasp of the problems confronting his country. His angry response when, at the end of an ABC radio interview, he thought he might have to speak to Chief Buthelezi, suggests he is still far from seeking the sort of contact essential for a lasting peace.

His support for the PLO (it's not a terrorist organisation ...) is jargon, though it - and his embrace of Colonel Gaddafi - cast doubt on his commitment to democracy.

Mr Mandela and the ANC undoubtedly have a significant role to play in whatever settlement is eventually reached in South Africa. But so too do other leaders and organisations.

Our Government seems unable to recognise - or want to learn from - any group other than the ANC. For years Chief Buthelezi has tried to come here but has been thwarted by officialdom. Nor is there any desire to welcome Mr De Klerk, who has done more than anyone to change South Africa.

South Africa has long been plagued by the fiction that apartheid could maintain white domination. It is now beset by a power play that will determine who controls the post-apartheid system. Our Government seems to have picked its winner in advance. To the extent this blunders our understanding of the wider picture, our aim of a peaceful, free South Africa founded by equality for all, will be hindered.

P.1

"HERALD"

25-10-90

He came to thank us: Sydney went to thank him

By TONY STEPHENS

If self-trust is the essence of the hero, it became clear in St Mary's Cathedral last evening that an old man in a dark grey suit and white socks was a hero.

As the choir sang the African anthem, Mr Nelson Mandela stood with his left fist clenched and held above his shoulder.

It was a simple gesture, though rare in most churches of the world, where congregations hear words of peace while wars are fought outside in the names of various gods.

Mr Mandela's action carried a certain revolutionary defiance but, above all, a certain faith. This was the self-trust of the hero.

He had come to Sydney to thank the people for their support for the African National Congress of which he is vice-president, but

it seemed that the people of Sydney wanted to thank him more. They touched the hem of his grey garment. They held babies out to him.

When he met a group of Aborigines soon after arriving, Mr Mandela went to Ruby Langton, aged 2½, who had come with her mother, Maria, from Brisbane. The baby howled and a bottle was sent for.

Mrs Langton cried, too, after the meeting. "We have had the greatest pleasure of our lives," she said. "This man is the greatest man of the 20th century."

"She doesn't love me," Mr Mandela said of Ruby.

Well, everyone else seemed to love him. Some Aborigines present, like Mrs Pat Dodson and Mr Jack Beetson, criticised another of their number, Mr David Clark,

"I never actually anticipated the type of harassment to which my wife was subjected"

NELSON MANDELA in an exclusive interview with the Herald — See Page 4

chairman of the NSW Land Council, for "selling out" on and rights, but all agreed that their visitor should not be troubled with their differences. Mrs Langton said those present represented 99 per cent of Aborigines and wanted

to dissociate themselves from the "disgraceful behaviour of one or two individual" who had criticised Mr Mandela's tour.

Down at the Opera House there was a reminder that it was the trade unions who had first championed Mr Mandela's cause in Australia.

Paul Robeson, the great and persecuted black bass baritone, had sung to building workers on the Opera House site 30 years ago. Now a great and persecuted black political leader in grey suit and white socks played the audience with equal panache.

There is something of Mikhail Gorbachev about him — a hero abroad, received with mixed feelings at home. His performance in Africa since being released from jail may have been mixed, but

expectations after 27 years of pent-up emotion were impossibly high. So he was mesmeric yesterday, rather than messianic.

Mr Michael Easson, secretary of the NSW Labor Council, said: "Mr Mandela, you are among friends who want you to fulfil the best hopes of current and future generations ... we are watching and cheering you on." And they did.

The Lord Mayor of Sydney, Alderman Jeremy Bingham, gave Mr Mandela another key to another city, although it must be said that the award was announced three years ago when Mr Mandela was still in prison, an act that might be seen now as ahead of its time.

The Minister for Foreign

Continued Page 4

PAGE 4: Nelson Mandela in Sydney; **Bold** hopes and bitter memories. **PAGE 14:** Editorial



Mr Mandela lights a candle at St Mary's Cathedral last night.

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Confusion deepens over ANC decision to postpone congress

Star 25/10/90

The mystery surrounding the ANC's decision to postpone its national conference deepened this morning — with some national executive committee members confirming that the decision had been taken by the executive at the weekend, and other members sticking to their story that no such decision had been authorised.

It is now believed there could be a split within the NEC, the ANC's highest decision-making body, on whether crucial elections on a new leadership should be taken in December or should be postponed to June, the new date for the national conference.

The ANC announced yesterday that the December

gathering would become a consultative conference with elections in six months' time at the postponed national conference.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo will probably clear up the confusion today following allegations by two senior NEC members that the decision to postpone the conference had not been authorised by the NEC.

This morning ANC media spokesman Ollie Marohn remained adamant that the NEC had authorised the postponement.

This was confirmed by one

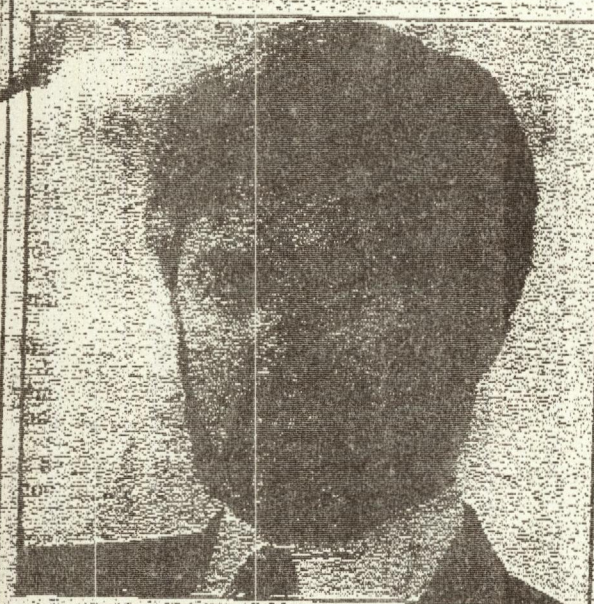
NEC member who said the confusion could have arisen because the NEC had been very anxious that the news of the postponement should reach the ANC's lower echelons before the press. This might have been why the two NEC members denied the announcement, he said.

There is now speculation of a rift between leaders who could benefit from early elections and those whose positions would be more secure in June when returned exiles would participate in voting for a new leadership.



To clear up confusion
ANC secretary-general
Alfred Nzo

25/10/90 Star
NEWS



John Kane Berman

ANC, Govt 'don't have a winning hand'

BLOEMFONTEIN — There was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of bilateral deal between the South African Government and the ANC, John Kane Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations told the Ladies 100 Club in Bloemfontein this week.

Mr Kane Berman said a "winning hand" was not a bilateral deal but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

This would have a beneficial effect in white politics.

Painful

"If Buthelezi and other black people are there, many people on the right will have their fears reduced," said Mr Kane Berman.

The New South Africa was going to be a lot more painful than eight months ago, but the plus factors had to be emphasised.

These included that the Soviet Union was now in favour of negotiated solutions. But for the fact that there had been a major change in domestic politics in the

Soviet Union, Nelson Mandela would still be in prison.

The collapse of the communist monopolies undermined their credibility locally, while Africa was also recognising the folly of one-party socialist systems.

Sanctions were being eroded and President de Klerk had made "astronomical, breath-taking" breakthroughs in the international scene.

New plus factors in domestic politics were the increased realisation in the Conservative Party that its previous policies were unworkable and unsaleable.

"We can actually change society non-violently if we wish," he said.

Earlier Mr Kane Berman had accused the South African press of "not doing its job properly". The public was not getting a true reflection of the degree of destabilisation going on in the black townships.

His figures, based on police reports, showed a 400 percent increase in attacks on black policemen and councillors from January to July.

He did not know whether the Government could get the ANC to give up its mass mobilisation policy.

Sanctions were not a major threat and the armed struggle was never a potent instrument, he said. — Sapa

OPINION

25/10/90

STAR

Tos Wentzel on the president's men who are paving the way for a new constitution

Towards our 'Magna Carta'

THE protection of minority rights as well as individual rights along with universal franchise are stated as some of the basic principles for a future constitutional model for South Africa, in a report of the President's Council's constitutional affairs committee released yesterday.

The report says that any future system must satisfy the requirements of equity, which includes justice and equality, towards every individual or group in South Africa.

The existence of a variety of groups and communities within the geographic area of South Africa must be recognised.

The report also deals with various checks and balances in a new system.

It flowed from a request by President de Klerk for an inquiry into decision-making and conflict resolution mechanisms and techniques in constitutional systems. These had to include mechanisms and techniques for furthering consensus and the resolution of disputes.

The findings in the report are likely to serve as major guidelines in future negotiations on a new constitutional system. It will complement an inquiry of the SA Law Commission on the protection of human rights and the types of models of democratic constitutions that should be considered for a future South Africa.

The chairman of the committee, Mr Johan Heyns, said the report stressed the need to have some conflict managing mechanisms. There would always be conflict in the country, but there was the need to keep this at a manageable level.

Among the other basic principles the report lays down for an effective new constitutional system are:

- Universal franchise. It is the right, the report says, of every citizen to participate in the choosing of candidates for a particular form of government.

There are a variety of methods to express this principle, but the committee finds that — for a heterogeneous country — a form of

proportional representation appears to be the most democratic.

- Recognition of the heterogeneity of the South African population. The existence of a variety of groups and communities within South Africa must be recognised.

- The acceptability or legitimacy of a new system. To be acceptable any dispensation will have to be the product of discussions and negotiations between representatives of all interest groups in South Africa.

- Loyalty and trust. To be applied successfully, any system will have to be preceded by concerted efforts to create a climate of mutual loyalty and trust.

- Feasibility. Any system that merits serious consideration will have to take account of the fact that South Africa's economy is a blend of formal and informal components.

- Practicality. A test for any constitution is that it should be practical, intelligible and practicable.

- Accountability. Any system has to take into account that the rep-

resentative is answerable to his constituents, and the executive is answerable to the legislature and the judicial authority in terms of the constitution.

- The holistic approach. Under any new constitutional dispensation, it will be necessary to address all political, economic and social imbalances as a whole.

The report says the committee has found it would not be advisable to make final recommendations on a future constitutional dispensation to avoid the impression of prescriptiveness.

Any system which aimed to resolve conflict, promote decision-making through consensus and resolve disputes, must take account of the basic principles for a new system.

While a unitary system is a relatively simple structure with cost advantages, majority domination in such a system can lead to serious conflict unless special methods are introduced, among them the proportional vote, minority group protection and limits to parliamentary sovereignty.

Federalism has the advantage of devolution of power, curbing the unbridled power of the central government, but autonomous authorities at regional level lead to considerable duplication of services and structures.

Under a system of confederalism, member states can retain sovereignty over internal matters, but it is an inherently unstable system.

The report dismisses the idea of partition. It says that nowhere in South Africa is there a group geographically concentrated in any region that could be economically viable as an independent state.

The introduction of a constitution with a Bill of Rights is regarded as essential for a future South Africa.

The success of a new system will be in direct proportion to the extent to which minority rights in particular are protected and accommodated against domination.

If a written constitution and a Bill of Rights were accepted, it would be essential to provide for a testing right for the courts, whether they be ordinary courts or a

specially constituted constitutional court.

The report recommends a bicameral system as a feature of most stable democracies, along with a body to resolve deadlocks.

A minority veto may be necessary so that minorities can prevent their interests being prejudiced.

There could also be a referendum or initiatives system to test the views of the electorate on single issues.

A national conflict coordinating body can play an extremely valuable role in a new system, along with a national conflict management programme for conflict prevention, management and resolution.

The committee says it is hoped that, in time, the new South African constitution will rank alongside the Magna Carta and the constitutions of the United States, Switzerland and West Germany "as a landmark in the history of constitutional democracy and will prove that heterogeneous countries can enjoy peace, freedom and prosperity".

Star 25/10/90

NEWS

Mandela: FW efforts magnificent

By Adrian Dunn
Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, yesterday praised President de Klerk for his "magnificent efforts" to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa.

A crowd of more than 20,000 gathered outside the Sydney Opera House to hear Mr Mandela say there were, however, forces seeking to derail the peace process.

Evidence

He said the ANC had evidence that the recent bloody violence in townships was not "black on black warfare" but rather the work of death squads trained in the security forces. The Government had either lost control of the security forces or the security forces were acting at the Government's bidding.

He warned the country would be "on fire again" if it backed away from a commitment to one person, one vote.

As Mr Mandela spoke, supporters danced and sang "Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika".

Earlier, Mr Mandela

met Aboriginal leaders who rejected recent criticism of him by some Aboriginals.

"We want you to know that we dissociate ourselves, and everyone we represent — and that is more than 99 percent of the Aborigines of Australia — from the disgraceful behaviour of one or two individuals," said spokesman Marcia Langton.

"They do not represent Aboriginal Australia and we are saying on behalf of the Aboriginal people that it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to meet a real hero."

"This man is the greatest man of the 20th century in that, through his lifelong commitment to dismantling racism, he has explained clearly to the entire world what a poisonous institution racism is."

Mr Mandela yesterday went further than his earlier Canberra talks in discussing Aborigines, saying he felt an empathy with them.

"As far as I can understand they are striving to improve their lot. Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our country."

Mr Mandela expressed interest in visiting the areas where they live.

The Age
25.10.90

I'd serve under Mandela, says De Klerk

By PETER SPINKS, The Hague,
and JENNIFER McASEY, Sydney

South Africa's President F.W. de Klerk would be "perfectly willing and able" to serve under Mr Nelson Mandela if he were democratically elected president under a system of one person, one vote.

At the end of a two-day visit to Holland on Tuesday, Mr De Klerk said constitutional reforms leading to universal suffrage would be introduced in South Africa by 1994 at the latest.

He made sweeping promises to the Parliament in The Hague, but declined to elaborate on how the democratic voting system would be introduced. He mentioned the possibility of a two-chamber parliament.

Mr de Klerk also said that existing legislation enshrining apartheid, such as the Group Areas and Population Registration acts, would be repealed under the envisaged constitution.

"In addition, all political prisoners currently in detention will be released before April 1991," he said.

In Sydney yesterday, speaking to more than 20,000 people outside the Opera House, Mr Mandela warned the South African Government that the country would "be on fire again" if it backed away from a commitment to one person-one vote.

Mr Mandela also said the state security forces were behind recent violence in the townships of South Africa and it was the Government's responsibility to stop

the "slaughter of blacks" by the intelligence services.

At an emotional and enthusiastic rally, Mandela supporters danced and sang the ANC's national anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica'.

Mr Mandela, who visits Melbourne today, earlier met Aboriginal representatives, who rejected recent criticism of him by some Aboriginal activists for his failure to publicly support their cause. Mrs Marcia Langton, who spoke for the group of about 20 Aborigines, said they had the "very greatest pleasure" of their lives in meeting Mr Mandela.

"This man is the greatest man of the 20th Century, in that through his lifelong commitment to dismantling racism he has explained clearly to the entire world what a poisonous institution racism is.

"We want you to know that we disassociate ourselves and everybody who we represent, and that is over 99 per cent of Aboriginal Australia, from the disgraceful behavior of one or two individuals ... they do not represent Aboriginal Australia."

The chairman of the Northern Land Council, Mr Gallarwuy Yunupingu, said Mr Mandela was here to receive support, not to solve Australian problems.

Mr Mandela said his meeting with the Aborigines was very warm, and he was considering an invitation from them to visit the areas where they live.

Continued: PAGE 6

I'd serve Mandela: De Klerk

FROM PAGE ONE

He identified with their struggle to improve their living conditions, but repeated that he wanted to be careful not to interfere in the affairs of a friendly country.

At the rally, Mr Mandela expressed his gratitude for the support given to the anti-apartheid movement by the Australian people. He told the crowd that even within the thick prison walls of South Africa's jails, "the steadfastness of your solidarity filtered through".

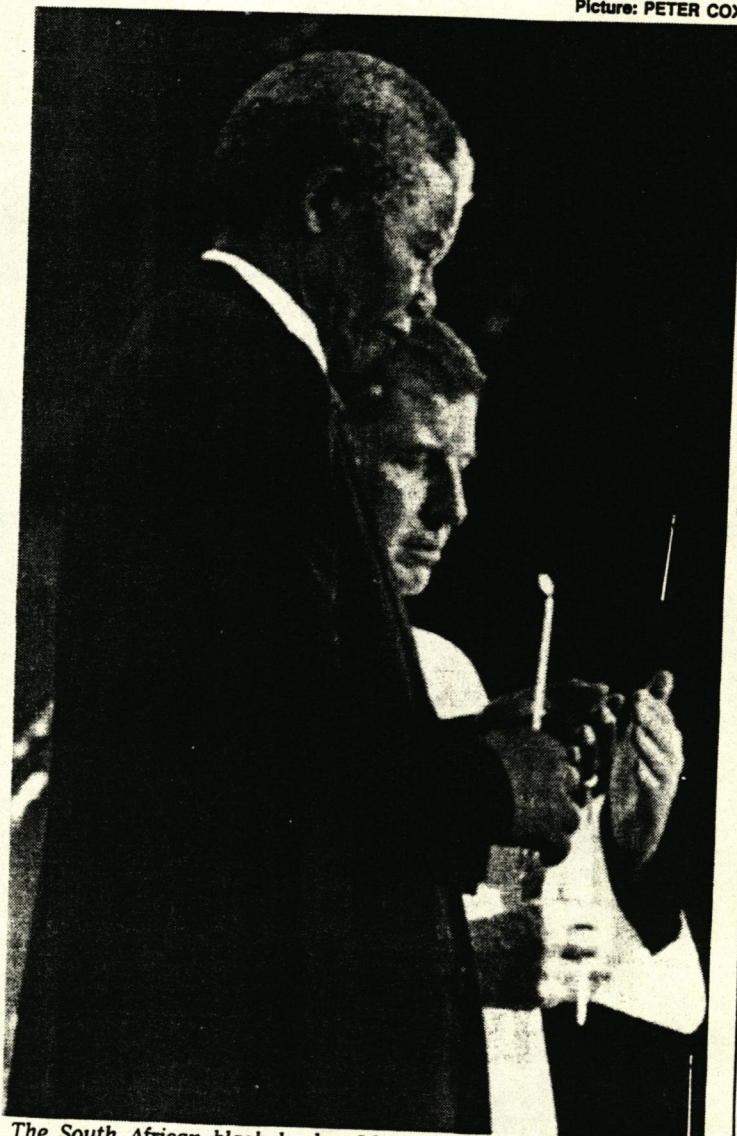
Mr Mandela praised Mr De Klerk, saying he had made "magnificent efforts" to bring about fundamental changes in the country. However there were forces seeking to derail the peace process.

The recent bloody violence in the townships was not "black on black" warfare, Mr Mandela said. Rather the ANC had evidence that it was the work of death squads trained in the security forces.

He said the Government had either lost control of the security forces, or the security forces were doing the Government's bidding.

Mr Mandela was mobbed by children as he tried to leave the rally, and many people cried as the ANC leader rose to sing the anthem.

Picture: PETER COX



The South African black leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, with Dean Vincent Redden of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney.

BLACKS UNITE BEHIND 'HERO'

By NEIL WILSON and
OWEN BROWN

AUSTRALIA'S Aboriginal leaders yesterday united behind Nelson Mandela and attacked activist Michael Mansell for his criticism of the anti-apartheid fighter.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, emerged from a 30-minute meeting in Sydney with representatives of the Aboriginal community to express an empathy for their plight.

And he said he would like to fit a visit to outback tribes into his tight schedule during this trip.

Following the meeting the Aboriginal leaders said they felt inspired in Mr Mandela's presence, with delegation spokeswoman Marcia Langton calling him "the greatest man of the 20th century".

An agitated Ms Langton then turned on Mr Mansell and the media, blasting his stand against Mr Mandela and berating some sections of the media for presenting it as legitimate Aboriginal opinion.

"We want you to know we disassociate ourselves and everyone which we represent — and that is over 99 per cent of the Aborigines in Australia — from the disgraceful behavior of one or two individuals which some of you have created into the voice of Aboriginal Australia," she said.

"They do not represent Aboriginal Australia and we are saying on behalf of Aboriginal people that it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to meet a real hero."

Mr Mandela yesterday went further than his Canberra talks in discussing Aborigines, saying he felt an empathy with them.



● Mr Mandela with Aboriginal representatives and their flag.

"As far as I can understand, they are striving to improve their lot," he said.

"Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our own country."

But Mr Mandela stressed he did not wish to be seen to be interfering in the internal conditions of a friendly country.

Mr Mansell waited outside Sydney's Hotel Intercontinental during the meeting with Aboriginal leaders from all states, describing the talks as "token".

And he repeated criticisms of Mr Mandela for not publicly supporting radical policies for Australia's indigenous people.

Mr Mansell said he was "not in the least bit disturbed" by Ms Langton's comments.

Earlier, Northern Land Council leader Mr Gallarrwuy Yunupingu said Mr Mansell was "casting a light on himself for his own course".

"I don't like the ideas, he's been singularising himself on the outskirts, making terrible statements which don't symbolise the views of Aboriginal people in Australia," he said.

"Mr Mandela has enormous problems in helping his own people, we are behind him, but we want to solve our own problems, in our own country."

"He wants to do the same."

The Young National Party yesterday slammed Mr Mandela's visit as "outrageous" and called for sanctions against South Africa to be lifted.

The Young Nationals said after a meeting of its federal council that all sanctions should be lifted until the African National Congress renounced violence and gave a commitment it would not establish a one-party totalitarian state in South Africa.

"The Government's treatment of Mr Mandela and its funding of the ANC was totally inconsistent with the general attitudes of the Australian public towards violence and terrorism," Young Nationals president Mr Angus Calder said.

Mandela blasted

□ Nelson Mandela's three-day visit to Australia this week has split the Aboriginal community. Mr Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC), has said he would not use his high profile in the world community to become involved in the affairs of Australia's Aborigines. This has angered some Aboriginal leaders who have accused Mr Mandela of a sell-out.

KEITH GOSMAN reports.



GARY FOLEY

He's a hypocrite here seeking funds

ABORIGINAL activist Gary Foley, who said his views were shared by many long-standing activists, accused Mr Mandela and the ANC of being "hypocrites" and described the visit as a "political obscenity".

"Mandela's decision not to talk about Aboriginal issues is a condition of getting money out of the Australian Government. It's hypocrisy," Mr Foley said.

"Why do you think he's coming out to Australia. It's not to get a better tan. He's out here to seek financial support for the ANC from both the Australian Government and broader-based groups."

"He said Mr Mandela's attitude to Aborigines had been mirrored in earlier visits to Australia by ANC officials, including its president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

"They went to great extremes to try to suggest that there was no problem of racism in Australia.

"The reason they were saying that was because they are dependent on the Australian Government for financial support.

"When I was 21, I had Oliver Tambo's photograph on the back of my bedroom door - that's how much I admired the man.

"When he came out here and spoke to Aborigines he spoke the biggest load of sanctimonious, hypocritical bullshit that I've ever heard from anyone in my life which played down the Aboriginal situation.

"In essence, I think it is a political obscenity for him to be coming out here and sucking up to all the people who wouldn't have lifted a finger for him when he was in jail," he said.

"He's turning his back on all the people who supported him and the ANC when he was in jail.

"He's coming out here to fraternise with the enemies of the ANC. To suck up to the Australian Government.

"I don't remember the Australian Government lifting a finger to get him out of jail. If this is their (the ANC's) track record for people who've supported them in the past, then I wouldn't look too much forward to when they take over South Africa."



NELSON MANDELA: Due to speak on Wednesday afternoon at the Sydney Opera House.

Illustration: JENNY COOPES



MICHAEL MANSELL

He's being used by the Australian Govt

CONTROVERSIAL Aboriginal leader, Michael Mansell wants Aborigines to boycott Mr Mandela's visit because of his decision not to speak publicly about Aboriginal issues.

"I am disappointed that Mandela, a man of his stature, has allowed himself to be used by the Australian Government at the expense of Aboriginal people."

He said there weren't too many Aborigines who got the sort of "grand tour with all the trimmings treatment" that was being put on for Mr Mandela.

"The ANC need practical financial support and they also need political support and recognition from countries like Australia. They have got that to the tune of of \$15 million dollars.

"Now the Australian Government can say to the world: 'Don't ever accuse us of not being supporters of blacks because we have such a strong relationship with Nelson Mandela and the ANC.'"

Mr Mansell, secretary of the self-styled Aboriginal Provisional Government (APG), said Mr Mandela's decision not to talk about Aboriginal issues would be seen as a de facto approval of the Australian Government's policies towards Aborigines.

"How can we then go overseas and tell people our problems are as great as blacks in South Africa?"

"They are going to say: 'If that's the case, then why did Nelson Mandela behave the way he did?'"

"There's no way that I or anyone else can convince anyone that Mandela made an error or judgement."

"... we think that it is absolutely great that Nelson Mandela is coming to Australia because he is recognised as probably the greatest fighter for black rights in the world.

"But he must not come here with his eyes shut. He must not come here knowing full well the Australian Government is going to use his visit to put back the Aboriginal struggle internationally by at least 20 years."



MALCOLM FRASER

It's absolute nonsense

FORMER Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, an internationally noted supporter of black Africa, said it was "absolute nonsense" for Aborigines to attack Mr Mandela's decision not to discuss Australia's domestic politics.

Mr Fraser said the calls by Aboriginal activists on Mr Mandela to speak out were "pathetic" because their situation had "no relevance, no connection to the situation of blacks in South Africa".

"Whatever discrimination exists in the law now is for, on behalf of, and in favour of Aborigines, giving them many special benefits, whatever, not enjoyed by other Australians," he said.

Mr Fraser said Aborigines unsuccessfully had tried to lobby African countries on the same issue at the Brisbane Commonwealth Games in 1982 and had been rebuffed by the president of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, Abraham Ordia.

"He (Ordia) clearly was not going to take up the Aboriginal cause and made it plain the Aboriginal situation here, as it has existed for many years, is totally and absolutely different from the situation of blacks in South Africa. It cannot be compared."

"There (South Africa) the law is still discriminating against blacks and denies them legal rights, although de Klerk needs to be given credit for the steps he's taken indicating he's moving away from that."

"Aborigines are discriminated in favour off to the cost of ordinary Australians in millions and millions of dollars every year."

"You cannot therefore compare the position of Aborigines here with the position of blacks in South Africa."



DAVID CLARK

He has my admiration

NSW Aboriginal Land Council chairman David Clark said he heartily welcomed Mr Mandela's Australian visit and described Mr Mansell's views as unrepresentative of the majority of Aborigines.

"I think that Mr Mandela's visit will be one of the greatest things that has happened to Australia," he said.

"I'm an admirer of the man and have such respect for someone willing to stand by his principles. This man suffered for more than 20 years in jail for them."

"And then to come out of jail and try to seek a solution to a problem in his country without violence - he's certainly won my admiration because I believe that's the way things should be done."

"I don't believe there is a need for confrontation of any description and the same thing can be said here."

"I am certainly one leader in this State who does not support Mr Mansell in what he is saying about Mr Mandela."

Mr Clark said that if anyone had had a reason to get angry and want revenge when he got out of jail, that was Mr Mandela. But instead he had promoted peaceful solutions.

"One can only only admire what he has done and what he is doing," he said. "I think we can learn (from Mr Mandela's visit) that if we are prepared to sit down and listen to each other, we can develop a country and reach a compromise with each other ..."

"We should try to learn to develop our country along the same lines, without having to get into the violence we see in other countries."

Accusing Mr Mansell and other extreme leaders of living in a "world of fantasy," he said there was no comparison between the situations in South Africa and Australia.

25,000 salute *The Herald Sun* freedom fighter

25/10/90

By NEIL WILSON

NELSON Mandela stood before 25,000 people yesterday and thanked Australia for its support against apartheid.

Then he forecast an escalation of bloodshed in South Africa.

He warned that death squads sanctioned by the security forces were on the loose.

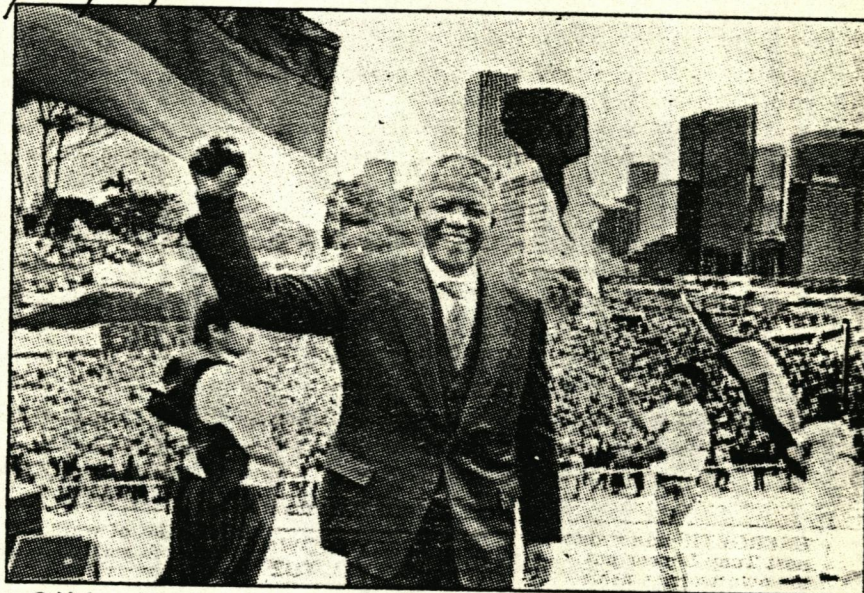
Mr Mandela told the crowd at the Sydney Opera House: "The killer mentality among the security forces is very high, because they regard any peaceful demonstration as a declaration of war against white supremacy."

He said tensions between rival South African black groups "assumed a new dimension" because highly trained death squads were being used by government security forces to weaken the African National Congress.

Despite the efforts of President F.W. de Klerk to find peace, Mr Mandela said the security forces were determined to cause chaos.

"You have given us the inspiration, the ability to continue to fight with the certainty that the people of Australia are behind us," Mr Mandela said.

Earlier he met Aboriginal leaders and said he



● Nelson Mandela at the Sydney Opera House yesterday . . . "You have given us the inspiration, the ability to continue to fight".

was considering making a special trip during his Australian tour to see their homes in the outback.

Mr Mandela chose the Opera House rally to send a message to the South African Government that his country would again by plunged into flames if there was not significant progress toward true democracy.

He said the government had either lost control of the violence, lost control of

the security forces or the security forces were doing exactly what the government wanted them to do.

The Victorian State Opposition yesterday criticised trade union arrangements to provide security for Mr Mandela when he visits Melbourne.

Fifty members of various unions will form a cordon around Mr Mandela today when he addresses a rally at the Town Hall.

The Opposition law and order spokesman, Mr McNamara, described the union men who will form the cordon as "Halfpenny's horde".

Mr McNamara said it was further evidence of the political power being wielded by Trades Hall Council secretary John Halfpenny.

Union officials arranged the security because of fears of trouble.

● Black hero, Page 31

The Mandela visit — S.A. Facts and Fictions

A "Free South Africa rally" is to be held at Melbourne Town Hall in late October, sponsored by the ACTU and the Victorian Trades Hall Council. The purpose is to welcome Nelson Mandela who will be paying a brief visit to Australia. A sum of \$50,000 is to be raised from trade unionists for the "Free South Africa Appeal".

The ACTU's \$50,000 is chickenfeed compared with the federal government's incomparably larger gift of \$15 million announced by Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans on May 17.

The ANC's annual budget runs to \$US 200 million. The major contributor — until its own present bankruptcy — has been the Soviet Union. When one puts together direct grants to the ANC, to the "Mandela Fund", to the "victims of apartheid" — simply different names covering the same ultimate destination — one finds a remarkable list of governmental contributions.

Without distinguishing between genuine and one-off grants, the following 'donations' emerge: EEC (\$50 million); Japan (\$50 million); USA (\$17 million); Sweden (\$16 million); Denmark (\$16 million). The Soviet Union and the former eastern bloc nations have never published their figures, but perhaps one day a KGB defector will open the books.

Financial subventions from the corporate level are more private. Links between the ANC and Sir Harry Oppenheimer's fabulously wealthy Anglo-American Corporation were established in talks held in Zambia in September 1985. It can be regarded as certain that these contacts were accompanied by financial assistance.

The giant British conglomerate, Lonhro, under the leadership of Mr. "Tiny" Rowland, which has extensive holdings throughout Southern Africa, has long had close relationships with the ANC leadership. It would be remarkable if financial assistance has been excluded.

On July 6, 1990, the Johannesburg Star referred to links between Mr. Mandela and the Rockefeller Foundation: "[They] have begun to plan the creation of a South African development bank to change South Africa's white-dominated economy

through foreign investment."

On March 3, 1982 the Philadelphia Inquirer reported the result of a ten nation swing through Africa by Mr. David Rockefeller himself:

"Dealing with socialist or Marxist countries 'really does not cause us any problem at all', said Rockefeller ... we have found we can deal with just about any kind of government provided they are orderly and responsible."

However, Mr. Rockefeller's "orderly and responsible" government appears, at the moment, to be the least likely outcome in South Africa.

On August 6, the ANC, following on a meeting with the South African government, agreed to suspend its "armed struggle" against the Pretoria Administration. An historic statement! But while the now-suspended "armed struggle" against the once-hated "apartheid regime" never amounted to much, that between the various black tribes is waged with increasing ferocity. Since August 6, approximately 1000 black Africans have been killed in conditions of primitive barbarity as a result of the internecine violence between members of the Xhosa-led ANC, and the Zulu-led Inkatha.

While ancient tribal rivalries lie at the heart of the butchery in the Johannesburg townships, a more modern political purpose is clear. The ANC refuses to accord Buthelezi and Inkatha a place at the negotiating table with the government, since it is determined to be the sole black force within the successor government to the 'apartheid regime'. If in the meantime the ANC can form an interim government with de Klerk — its obvious purpose — it would share control of the South African police and defence forces. These would thereupon be used to suppress Inkatha in the name of legality, thereby decisively influencing the result of "free" elections.

But, of course, it will not work out in that way. As disorder spreads throughout South Africa and the prospects of a peaceful transition become increasingly remote, the natural tendency will be for the Zulus (who number approximately 7 million) to form a defence



pact with the whites (who number over 4.5 million) against the Xhosas. The die will then be cast for a full-scale civil war, rather than a peaceful transfer of power.

Apartheid was unjust and in many respects, barbarous. The chickens have come home to roost against a white regime which believed that economic progress could be based on black labor, living certainly in better circumstances than in their own countries — otherwise why would they emigrate to South Africa? — but nevertheless in sub-human conditions.

But the 'apartheid regime' was obviously capable of improvement by way of evolution. "In 1986 the number of Africans passing matric was roughly the same as white. By the end of the century, 7 out of 10 matriculants will be black. In 1967 only 7% of university students were black. The figure is now 40%. Black graduates are now challenging whites for jobs at the rate of 35,000 a year." (Age October 8, 1990).

Is that how it will be tomorrow? The rest of black Africa hardly encourages optimism. What of Ethiopia where Mengistu has butchered a million people? Or Somalia, whose ruler Siad Barre in 1988 precipitated a genocidal war against the rival Isaak tribe which has cost 60,000 civilian lives, generated 500,000 refugees, with no end in sight? Or Sudan, whose ruler Moar el Rashir seized power in a military coup, proclaimed an Islamic State, which has taken the lives of 500,000 civilian Sudanese who since 1986 have died of starvation, warfare and tribal killings? Or Liberia where in recent weeks the former President was tortured — his ears cut off — before he was killed? Or Angola? Or Mozambique? Or Uganda? Or Rwanda? Or all the others?

Precisely what is the case for believing that South Africa will be different?

Veteran in apartheid struggle dies of cancer

By CHRIS ERASMUS,
Cape Town, Wednesday

Mr Zephania Mothopeng, a 77-year-old veteran anti-apartheid activist and a contemporary of the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, died in Johannesburg Hospital late yesterday afternoon after a long struggle against lung and chest cancer.

In a tribute to its dead president, the militant Pan African Congress said that the "lion of Azania (South Africa) has fallen".

Mr Mothopeng joined Mr Robert Sobukwe and Mr Anton Lembede to form the PAC in 1959.

The political campaigner fought a lifetime struggle against apartheid.

He was admitted to hospital in a critical condition on 15 October with acute pneumonia and a blood infection.

His death will deepen a growing leadership crisis in the PAC, the internal wing of which is dominated by a group of hard-line Maoists.

There are claims by a more moderate faction based in Britain and in favor of negotiations that the organisation has been hijacked by a group of militants formerly based in Tanzania.

There were many tributes for Mr Mothopeng, who was born in the Orange Free State province in 1913. The United States ambassador to South Africa paid tribute, and the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, said the ANC felt "immense sadness".

In other developments:

- Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, will stand trial on abduction and assault charges three months sooner than expected. Her case has been brought forward to the original trial date of 30 October.

- The ANC said yesterday that because of delays in the return of exiles to South Africa, it had postponed its planned December national conference until mid-1991.

- Mr Mandela's walk-out from an ABC radio program during which the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was unexpectedly brought into the conversation through a telephone hook-up, has received wide coverage in South Africa in the light of an agreement by both the ANC executive and Chief Buthelezi for face-to-face peace talks.

ANC leader 'slave to own hierarchy'

By KEVIN RICKETTS and FIONA KENNEDY

THE gagging of Mr Nelson Mandela from further media interviews in Australia was confirmation that he was now more a captive of his own ANC hierarchy than he ever was in jail. Kwa Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking from the Zulu homeland capital of Ulundi, north of Durban, to Macquarie radio's John Tingle, Chief Buthelezi said the furore over Mr Mandela's interview with ABC radio journalist Paul Murphy on Tuesday sprung from the ANC leadership's hatred of other black South African liberation movements that threatened the ascendancy of the ANC.

Mr Mandela and his entourage cancelled further scheduled "one-on-one" interviews with the Australian media after Murphy went from his live talk with Mr Mandela to a live cross to Ulundi with Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela refused to speak to the Chief Minister and later announced his cancellation of an interview with ABC's 2JJJ radio station.

Chief Buthelezi told Tingle yesterday: "Owing to members of the ANC leadership, up to now he (Mr Mandela) has not yet met with me."

"And he has said that when he suggested in March — one month after he was released from jail — that we should go together to address a joint peace rally in Pietermaritzburg, his colleagues in the ANC almost throttled him."

"I sympathise with him because, clearly, he is a captive of these leaders more than he was in jail."

Chief Buthelezi warned that if the world insisted on imposing an ANC one-party government in South Africa it would deny the country peaceful multi-party democracy and lead to further violence.

"It is something that happens in this part of Africa. In Mozambique (the late president) Samora Machel shot his way to power and now it is a government in exile there that is waging an armed struggle. The same can be said about Angola," he said.

"Some people have perceived the ANC as some sort of government-in-the-wings. That is contrary to multi-party democracy and that is why there is violence in places like Mozambique and Angola, precisely because a one-party State was imposed on the rest of the population."

The chief said it was "absolute balderdash" that his Zulu-based party, Inkatha, was fomenting violence against the ANC — "I have always been denigrated and despised because I believe in non-violence".

"It is the ANC that is committed to armed struggle ... they are the people who created a culture of violence in this country."

"Everywhere where there is violence there is the ANC. Violence does a lot of harm to our cause. It is the sort of violence that should shame all of us who claim to be leaders because it means that we as black people find it difficult to get our act together."

The Chief Minister said he found it "inconsistent that people say Mr De Klerk (the South African President) is sincere, that Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity and so on, and then in the same breath advocate sanctions."

"Because there is no way apartheid can continue in this country — it is doomed, it is finished."

The other interviews given by Mr Mandela were with ABC Television's 7.30 Report and the Melbourne newspaper The Age.

I'd serve Mandela: De Klerk

THE HAGUE: The President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, has said here he would be prepared to serve in a government led by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Asked after his arrival in the Netherlands on Tuesday if he would stay in public life under the black nationalist leader, Mr De Klerk replied: "I'll serve under any president elected under the new Constitution."

The new Constitution, which would legally abolish all racial inequalities, would come into effect before the end of his mandate in mid-1994. Mr De Klerk told a press conference.

It would also mean that less power was concentrated in the hands of the president.

The South African President was speaking after a four-way meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Lubbers.

the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Piik Botha, and his Dutch counterpart, Mr Hans van den Broek.

He said he had been received with "great dignity" by the Dutch Government.

"I didn't come to the Netherlands with the specific object of getting the sanctions lifted," Mr De Klerk said.

He said the Netherlands Government had sought full and detailed information about the situation in South Africa, adding that talks had been "concrete and incisive".

A Netherlands Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Dig Isthla, on Tuesday described reforms undertaken in South Africa as radical but not yet complete and irreversible and that there was unlikely to be an immediate lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

AFP



Mr De Klerk ... 'concrete, incisive' talks



THE AUSTRALIAN

October 25 1990

The myth of Nelson Mandela

SOUTH Africa's President De Klerk said yesterday he would be willing to serve in a government led by Mr Nelson Mandela. If this not-inconceivable organisation of the South African polity came to pass, Mr Mandela, as head of a multi-racial government, would be able to prove he is a great leader.

Until then – or until he is in some position of control – Nelson Mandela, as great leader, exists in other people's minds. The nobility of the anti-apartheid cause – a struggle dedicated to the ideals of freedom, equality and non-racial democracy – requires a noble figurehead. Mr Mandela, who has suffered for his cause, has been co-opted into that role.

Mr Mandela has a dignified bearing and charismatic persona. These are the trappings of leadership, not its substance. He has given no sign of possessing the actual quality. His courage may be respected. He should not be lionised.

The purpose of his Australian visit is to thank the people and the Government for their support of the ANC and the struggle against apartheid. But it is a poor guest who comes to express gratitude for support and then tries to dictate the form that support will take, as he did when he insisted full sanctions be maintained against South Africa. If he were any other visiting leader, his remarks would be regarded as an intrusion. Mr Hawke has at times appeared to be contemplating softening his line on some sanctions. If this is the approach he wants to pursue, he should. Australia's policy is Australia's business.

Others in South Africa have different views. Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, is a firm opponent of sanctions, as are other significant black leaders. They believe sanctions hurt blacks, not whites.

The mythology surrounding Mr Mandela is no less effective for its flimsy basis. Australia has given Nelson Mandela, private citizen, the full official reception and treatment (minus a 21-gun salute). The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, may believe Mr Mandela represents 28 million black South Africans. But Mr Mandela is only a senior figure of one of the political parties competing for power in a post-apartheid South Africa, the African National Congress.

No election has taken place to test his support. The recent township violence – in which almost 1000 have died – suggests he has little control over South Africa's biggest single ethnic group, the 7 million Zulus, most of whom support Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha. Nor does he have the support of the 3 million members of the conservative Zion Christian Church. At best, according to most assessments, the ANC can count on backing from the 3.4 million Xhosas.

His organisation has adopted a Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It has been closely allied with the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Its commitment has been to terrorism. Its renunciation of the armed struggle is recent and uncertain.

Benign though he appears in public, Mr Mandela shows little sign of having a real grasp of the problems confronting his country. His angry response when, at the end of an ABC radio interview, he thought he might have to speak to Chief Buthelezi, suggests he is still far from seeking the sort of contact essential for a lasting peace.

His support for the PLO ("it's not a terrorist organisation . . .") is jargon, though it – and his embrace of Colonel Gaddafi – cast doubt on his commitment to democracy.

Mr Mandela and the ANC undoubtedly have a significant role to play in whatever settlement is eventually reached in South Africa. But so too do other leaders and organisations.

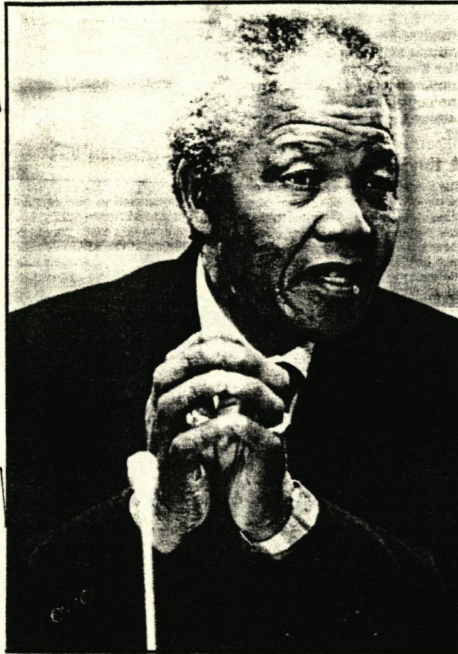
Our Government seems unable to recognise – or want to learn from – any group other than the ANC. For years Chief Buthelezi has tried to come here but has been thwarted by officialdom. Nor is there any desire to welcome Mr De Klerk, who has done more than anyone to change South Africa.

South Africa has long been plagued by the fiction that apartheid could maintain white domination. It is now beset by a power play that will determine who controls the post-apartheid system. Our Government seems to have picked its winner in advance. To the extent this blinkers our understanding of the wider picture, our aim of a peaceful, free South Africa, marked by equality for all, will be hindered.

FEATURES

Nelson Mandela's 27 years inside a South African jail provided a symbol of the oppression of apartheid. Since his liberation early this year, he has travelled the world as a leader in the fight for democracy. In Australia to thank the nation for its support, he talks to CAMERON FORBES.

Picture: PETER COX



"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities ... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to see realised ... But if needs be, my Lord, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

The fight for democracy

"I am the first accused. I hold a bachelor degree in arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May 1961."

IT IS April 1964. Nelson Mandela stands in the dock in Pretoria. This time he is on trial charged with attempting a revolution by violence. The offence is punishable by death. It is a flat, lawyer's beginning to an address that takes on power and eloquence. This is no plea for mercy: he accepts responsibility for his actions, analyses his personal values and painstakingly builds a case against the system that oppresses the black people of South Africa. It is a statement of defiance and a call for human dignity.

Nelson Mandela and his comrades will be found guilty. The

African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races which would not be produced even by war. We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed against the principle of white supremacy. But the violence we chose to adopt was not terrorism.

I ask Nelson Mandela what he now feels, looking back over those 27 years, of the ANC strategy. "Black lives were stunted. Much

mitting suicide and we never felt that that was the course we should take."

Mandela minders are hovering — men from the ANC, Jane Singleton, his PR in Australia, diplomats, protocol officers. He is visibly getting more tired. They are desperate to protect him from his courteous self and from the media. They handle him as if he is a fragile international treasure.

"Are you concerned at all about the building of a Mandela cult with Mandela T-shirts, rock concerts? This is Nelson Mandela Superstar. Where is the ANC in all this?"

"Actually, we take these complimentary statements as a recog-

with the ANC in being the means to an end?"

"Well, I have no individual ambitions myself except to do what I'm asked to do by the comrades and the organisation."

'In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling the stories of the old days. Among the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Mahana, Sangu and Dalasile, Moshoeoe and Sekhunkhuni, were praised to the glory of the entire African nation.'

killing is to stop and blacks are united. With the death toll at almost 5000, the ANC at last agreed on Monday that a meeting should take place.

"When I was in Uluudi," I told Nelson Mandela, "Chief Buthelezi showed me a letter which he was proud of. You wrote to him from prison. You paid tribute to his part in the struggle and said: 'It is a serious indictment against all of us that we are still not able to combine forces and stop the slaughter.' Today, you mounted a very vigorous attack on Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. Are the wounds too deep for a real healing?"

apartheid, that he has not been a champion of apartheid. He said there was a role for himself and Zulu people in the peace negotiations. Today you seemed to be drawing a distinction between people who worked in the system who should not be part of the negotiations and those who remained outside. Are you ruling out Chief Buthelezi from the peak negotiations?"

"No. I am saying that everybody who is going to be entrusted with the task of negotiations should be democratically elected and all those people who feel they have a right to take part should subject themselves to democratic elections. The people must de-

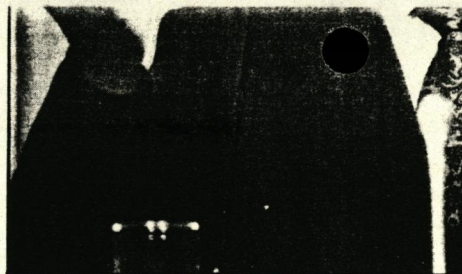
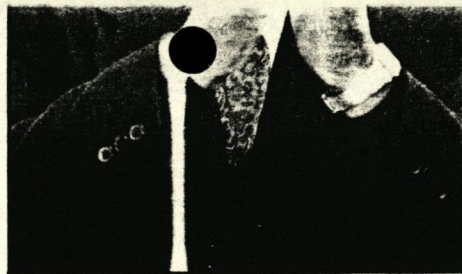
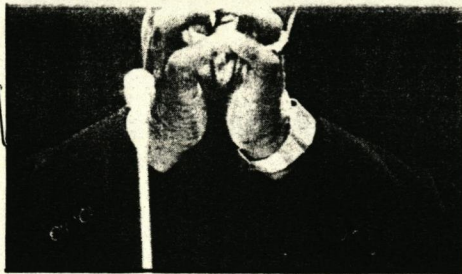
"You talk about the democratic principle. I spoke to members of the Democratic Party. They oppose apartheid but don't seem to share your optimism about the time scale — that real progress would be made before the next election is due in four years' time. These people talk about maybe a process of negotiations, breakdown, repression, bloodshed and then the cycle repeating itself several times because the agendas of the Government and the ANC are so far apart when it comes to the basic question of who holds power and how power is shared."

"They are very pessimistic and that is perhaps the reason why their party is crumbling. Both the

by a minority. You could never accept that. We cannot solve apartheid by bringing about apartheid solutions and to say that the whites should retain a veto is to bring apartheid in again by the back door. We won't accept that."

'During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to see realised. But if needs be, my Lord, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.'

What a bitter irony it will be for Nelson Mandela if that great day does dawn and his adored wife, Winnie Mandela, is not there to share it with him. Winnie Mandela, once called Mother of the



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Nelson Mandela and his comrades will be found guilty. For 27 years he will remain in prison, growing in stature, growing in importance to the struggle against apartheid and to the chances of peace in South Africa until, finally, his National Party jailers have no choice but to free him.

Now he is in Australia, to thank the nation, he says, for its support for the African National Congress. Since his release he has remained a prisoner of the struggle, whirled around the world. The Mandela flying circus is partly about fundraising but mostly about keeping the diplomatic blowtorch applied to the South African Government.

We talk at the end of a long day during which he had been hailed as a modern-day hero by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke. He is, tall, straight, there is steel in him, but weariness too.

"I have read excerpts of your final speech at your trial," I say. "To what extent have you changed? What did 27 years in prison do to you? Are you the same man?"

He looks down at himself with a smile. "Well, all that I can tell you is that I have changed physically. I was then 44; I am now 72 and to that extent I have changed. But from the point of view of the cause to which I have committed my life, there is no change whatsoever. I still have the same views I had at the time when I made them."

"I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped form Umkonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) ... we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the South

African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races which would not be produced even by war. We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed against the principle of white supremacy. But the violence we chose to adopt was not terrorism."

I ask Nelson Mandela what he now feels, looking back over those 27 years, of the ANC strategy. "Black lives were stunted. Much damage was done spiritually and culturally. Some might say at least a generation of people was lost in poverty and despair. Are you tempted to think that if you had taken more vigorous action, that loss of fulfilled lives could have been avoided?"

"THERE could be no action more vigorous than the acts of violence we embarked on as far back as 1961," he says. "We have done that. But we have never conducted ourselves as a terrorist organisation despite allegations by our enemies. We made sure that we concentrated our attack on Government installations like post offices and police stations. Of course, quite a number of people were caught in the crossfire, but in the very case in which we were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, the judge accepted that it was a fundamental policy of the ANC not to take away life. So we had conducted ourselves on the basis that whatever we do, we must not endanger civilians."

"You don't think a shorter, bloodier struggle may have led more quickly to a juster, fairer South Africa?"

"No, I do not think so. For if you conduct a swift and decisive action, you must have the capacity to do so. We were never, the Umkonto we Sizwe, in a position to defeat the South Africa party and for us to have tried to plunge the country into bloodshed, it is our people who would have suffered not the Government, not the whites of the country. That would have been the easiest way of com-

mitting suicide and we never felt that that was the course we should take."

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"Are you concerned at all about the building of a Mandela cult with Mandela T-shirts, rock concerts? This is Nelson Mandela Superstar. Where is the ANC in all this?"

"Actually, we take these complimentary statements as a recognition of the crucial role which has been played by my comrades who have been running the struggle in my absence in prison. It is actually them who started this noise around my name and it is to them that this tribute is being paid, even though the name of an individual is being heard. And I think it is correct that this tribute should be paid to my comrades because they have done a remarkable job."

"Nevertheless there is this concentration on Mandela the man. When I was in South Africa late last year, the name of the game was waiting for Mandela. There could be no peace process without Mandela. There is the prime concentration on your role as a face-to-face negotiator with Mr De Klerk. If something should happen to you, would the fact of this concentration on you be damaging to the status of the ANC and the ability of your comrades to negotiate? For so many people in the world, they are faceless, nameless men."

"No. On the contrary. You have very many leaders of the ANC who are treated with great respect throughout the world and if there is any noise round the name of any particular individual, it is because it is the desire of the organisation on how they should motivate the country at the present moment. But I have no qualities which make me superior to my colleagues. On the contrary I can assure that there are many of my comrades who have greater qualities than I possess."

"So in a way you're going along

with the ANC in being the means to an end?"

"Well, I have no individual ambitions myself except to do what I'm asked to do by the comrades and the organisation."

"In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling the stories of the old days. Among the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Makana, Sanguzhi and Dalasile, Mochoesho and Sekhunkhuni, were praised to the glory of the entire African nation."



— Nelson Mandela

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DINGANE, the first of the ancestral heroes Nelson Mandela mentions, was the Zulu king who massacred Boers who had crossed the Drakensberg to settle in the Zulu lands, which became Natal. His impis (armies) then drove settlers from Durban and sacked the town. But for several years now impis of the Zulu movement Inkatha and members of the ANC and its allies have been doing bloody battle for political turf. The ANC claims involvement of a white extremist third force.

A meeting between Nelson Mandela and the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been regarded as essential if the

killing is to stop and blacks are united. With the death toll at almost 5000, the ANC at last agreed on Monday that a meeting should take place.

"When I was in Ulundi," I told Nelson Mandela, "Chief Buthelezi showed me a letter which he was proud of. You wrote to him from prison. You paid tribute to his part in the struggle and said: 'It is a serious indictment against all of us that we are still not able to combine forces and stop the slaughter.' Today, you mounted a very vigorous attack on Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. Are the wounds too deep for a real healing?"

apartheid, that he has not been a champion of apartheid. He said there was a role for himself and Zulu people in the peace negotiations. Today you seemed to be drawing a distinction between people who worked in the system who should not be part of the negotiations and those who remained outside. Are you ruling out Chief Buthelezi from the peace negotiations?"

"No. I am saying that everybody who is going to be entrusted with the task of negotiations should be democratically elected and all those people who feel they have a right to take part should subject themselves to democratic elections. The people must decide, not the Government. Chief Buthelezi was put in that position by the Government, not by the people."

"So you don't necessarily see final negotiations as just between the National Party and the ANC?"

"No. We have made it perfectly clear on countless occasions that we are not the sole, but the main actors in this political scenario and that a stage must come when all interested parties must be involved. But what we are saying is that everything we do must be based on the democratic principle. That is what democratic countries are doing. That's what you do in Australia. You don't make such changes to a system of government by handpicking participants. You prefer that the people themselves should decide who should fill these roles. There is no reason why there should be an exception in our country. What is good for the West should be good for us."

"Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white men fear democracy. But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another."

"He told me that he has fought

"You talk about the democratic principle. I spoke to members of the Democratic Party. They oppose apartheid but don't seem to share your optimism about the time scale — that real progress would be made before the next election is due in four years' time. These people talk about maybe a process of negotiations, breakdown, repression, bloodshed and then the cycle repeating itself several times because the agendas of the Government and the ANC are so far apart when it comes to the basic question of who holds power and how power is shared."

"They are very pessimistic and that is perhaps the reason why their party is crumbling. Both the ANC and the Government have at least said that the last general election in which only whites took part was the last such general election, that the next general election will be fought on a non-racial basis. The most senior minister in the Government, next to De Klerk, Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister for Constitutional Development, and that is the minister who is entrusted with the work of constitutional negotiations, has said that."

BUT he does seem to speak a different language about the shape of a new South Africa from the language you use. There seems to be a basic position held by some white Afrikaners, that the proper arrangement is one which will entrench them as a group and allow them some sort of veto."

"Yes, they say so. They use words like that. We reject that totally. But I don't think they mean it themselves. Because they know very well that if they take that position, that will be the end of negotiations and that is why the last general election in which only whites voted was the last in South Africa."

"We have made it clear to them that the whole fight in South Africa is over the extension of the vote to all South Africans so that every South African will be able to determine who will determine his or her destiny. We are saying that what is good for the West is good for us. You in Australia will never accept a situation where the majority decision, taken by a majority in Parliament, will be vetoed

by a minority. You could never accept that. We cannot solve apartheid by bringing about apartheid solutions and to say that the whites should retain a veto is to bring apartheid in again by the back door. We won't accept that."

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to see realised. But if needs be, my Lord, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

What a bitter irony it will be for Nelson Mandela if that great day does dawn and his adored wife, Winnie Mandela, is not there to share it with him. Winnie Mandela, once called Mother of the Nation, now faces the possibility of disgrace and imprisonment over alleged involvement in the brutality of the Mandela football club, which serves as her bodyguard. She is to stand trial on charges of kidnap and assault.

Nelson Mandela handles questions about this with dignity, pointing out that the principle is that a person is innocent until proven guilty. But there is no doubt that should Winnie Mandela be found guilty, it will be a crushing personal blow to the man who has been a rock to his people for decades of imprisonment.

"I have talked to Walter Sisulu, to Toivo ja Toivo of SWAPO, people who have shared your experience of long incarceration," I tell him. "I have asked them about personal pain and bitterness and they are surprisingly forgiving. How do you feel about what's happened to you and about what has happened to your wife, Winnie Mandela? What sort of personal pain has been inflicted by this period of loss and separation?"

"Well I had many hours in which I agonised over this situation. I did anticipate hard times for me but I never actually anticipated the type of harassment to which my wife was subjected and I spent many sad hours as a result of the harassment she was subjected to. I never imagined that a government could take such action against a woman whose husband was imprisoned. I have forgotten my past but I know I went through it and it may have left many scars in me. But I cannot forget what has happened to her."

Mandela tells hushed crowd of struggle against apartheid

Followers face symbol of defiance

By SALLY MACMILLAN

THE towering legend that is Nelson Mandela brought the human face of his struggle to the Australian people yesterday - and grew in stature.

He was met not with a rumble but a roar. Amid the black, green and yellow banners of his movement, the black African rock music and the clenched fist salutes, about 25,000 people were there to greet him outside the Sydney Opera House.

On a rostrum high above the crowd, framed by a sail of the Opera House, the 72-year-old appeared slight but the voice was commanding.

While lacking the rousing fire-and-brimstone timbre of a Martin Luther King or a Jesse Jackson, the elder statesman still managed to strike the right emotional response - the crowd was hushed as he explained the struggle.

Much of the message was familiar, repeated around the globe since he walked to freedom eight months ago.

Mr Mandela's simple line is that because apartheid is still alive and well - albeit on the way to being dismantled - it is too soon to reward Pretoria for the reforms the President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, has placed in motion.

In an address meant to last 10 minutes but which stretched to more than half an hour, Mr Mandela:

DISMISSED the violence as a black-on-black struggle, attributing it to flames fanned by elements of the security forces.

THREATENED that anything less than one man, one vote would plunge the country anew into bloodshed.

THANKED the Australian Government and its people for continued efforts to help to dismantle apartheid.

MADE jokes - that if women wanted to be free, they need only join the ANC.

RENEWED urges for monetary support for the cause.

By the finale, as the youthful Australian Acappella Choir sang again and American black performer Michael Edwards-Stevens rang out the Freedom Charter in rap, Mr Mandela's voice was almost rasping.

It was a wearying, whirlwind day in a whirlwind tour.

For more than 14 hours Mr Mandela was "on" - from airport arrival, to meeting Aboriginal leaders, to the Opera House "In Union with Mandela" rally to a confab with the NSW Premier, Mr Greiner, and Opposition leader, Mr



Mr Mandela, above, raises a fist in greeting, while a small boy, right, gets a view of his hero

Carr, to church, to a gathering of Australian ANC comrades, to a \$600-a-head dinner and finally to bed.

Security was tight for the man who was arguably the world's most famous political prisoner and continued symbol of black African inspirational hope.

The bulletproof glass chamber on the back of a flatbed truck that carried him throughout Manhattan was lacking, but plenty of Federal Police in plain clothes were evident, along with the busloads of blue.

Security choppers shared the air with the news crews.

Come to pay homage

The walkways to the Opera House foreshores were filled with people - school groups, kids playing truant, workers on the wag, unions, Africans, Aborigines, Chinese and visiting Japanese.

The purported rumblings of Aboriginal trouble did not arise and there were few dissenters.

Those who attended, like those who met the man face to face, were near to one in

saying they had come only to pay homage.

At the Opera House, officials - of the likes of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans; the NSW Attorney-General, Mr Dowd; Sydney Lord Mayor Mr Jeremy Bingham; NSW Trades and Labor Council general secretary Mr Michael Easson; and the president of the Nelson Mandela Australian National Reception Committee and former South Australian premier, Mr Don Dunstan - received the personal handshakes and accolades.

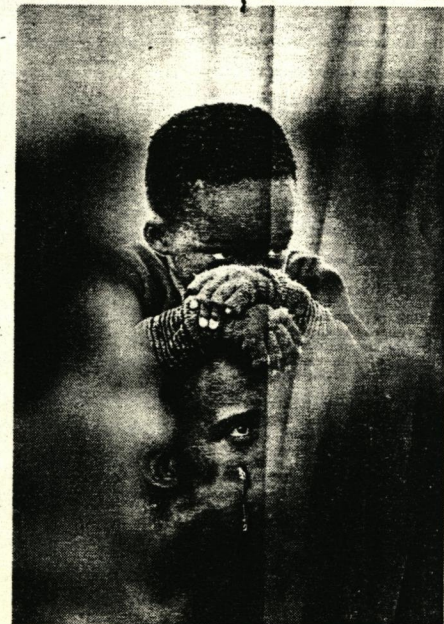
But it was the people below who were swept up in the emotion.

People such as pensioner Ms Enid Howard, a former South African resident and schoolteacher, who flew from Perth to see and salute her hero.

Just two weeks away from 80, she stood wavering on a cane, arm lifted with a clenched fist during the ANC anthem.

"I've lived for this day," she said.

"I was there when they put apartheid into effect," said the former Durban teacher, who fled the ravaged land in 1964. "I'm here seeing him as they tear it down."



VIVA MANDELA



● Emotional welcome ... Nelson Mandela raises a fist to greet well-wishers in Melbourne this afternoon.

By DEREK BALLANTINE

NELSON Mandela raised a clenched fist in salute to freedom in an emotional arrival in Melbourne today.

His first words to his Melbourne supporters were: "Thank you — I know of the good work you have done here."

Black and white chanted "Viva Mandela, viva ANC" as the African leader came to spread his message of equality.

The Premier, Mrs Kirner, sang freedom songs with the crowd. Later, tears welled in her eyes as the anthem of the African National Congress rang out in greeting.

Mr Mandela, a hero to his people in South Africa, raised a fist and stood in silence until cheers followed the anthem.

He waved to the crowd and said: "Thank you for your support."

Mrs Kirner said Mr Mandela was a great world figure and it was an "honour" that he chose to come to Melbourne.

"Nelson Mandela stands out as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid," she said.

"People throughout Australia and around the world have responded to his sense of humanity and

Tears, cheers for ANC chief



● Mrs Kirner greets Mr Mandela at Melbourne Airport. Pictures: ROBERT CAREW and BRUCE HOWARD

clear vision of what South Africa could become.

"His is a simple request, one which Australians take for granted — one person, one vote."

Mr Mandela arrived in a RAAF Falcon VIP jet and was met by Mrs Kirner, who will also welcome him at a function at Parliament tonight.

Sydney councillors upstaged Melbourne by granting the ANC deputy president the key to their city yesterday.

But Melbourne's Lord Mayor, Cr Richard Wynne, the president of the ACTU, Mr Martin Ferguson, and other councillors and union leaders were not going to be outdone as they gave him a VIP welcome.

Mr Mandela's arrival followed stirring scenes in Sydney where 25,000 attended his public address on the steps of the Opera House.

But there were no crowds, no protesters and only a ripple of polite enthusiasm.

Herald-Sun

NEWS - PICTORIAL

The Mandela bandwagon

T HERE he was, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans giving the clenched fist salute in support of the African National Congress. Beside him, Nelson Mandela, deputy leader of the Congress — a man convicted of terrorism, who has refused to renounce violence.

A few hours later, Melbourne Lord Mayor Richard Wynne joined the rush to climb on the Mandela bandwagon, awarding the champion of black rights the freedom of the City of Melbourne.

About the same time reports were reaching Australia that an ABC correspondent in South Africa had received death threats, presumably in retaliation for attempts by the ABC to do its job in giving both sides of the story by interviewing one of Mr Mandela's black rivals.

The Mandela magic seems to be casting a hallucinatory spell over usually rational people. It has caused to vanish from the debate the underlying, complex issues of his volatile land. It has replaced critical analysis with emotion and charisma.

Nelson Mandela has campaigned courageously for an end to apartheid. Australians, who live in one of the world's few real democracies, overwhelmingly abhor the injustice it represents. But they also abhor terrorism whether from the ANC, the PLO (which Mr Mandela refuses to criticise), or the IRA, whose murderous activities continued this week.

The Australian Government must penetrate the miasma of PR hype surrounding the Mandela visit. While he may be the ANC's hero, he is only its deputy leader. Nor does he, by any test, represent all 28 million South African blacks — including seven million Zulus, whose chief's presence with him on an ABC radio's "PM" interview so irked Mr Mandela.

Reformist South African President de Klerk says he would willingly serve under Mr Mandela in government; but it's by no means certain that a divided black majority would necessarily elect him.

Australia needs a broader view of the tortured South African scene than that glimpsed through Mr Mandela's selective prism. A decision on sanctions must be the result of a thorough assessment of all South African views, not merely Mr Mandela's belief that they should continue.